

The
Collected Works
of
Edward Sapir

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of
Edward Sapir

VII

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The
Collected Works
of
Edward Sapir

VII

Wishram Texts and Ethnography

Volume Editor
William Bright

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*Edward Sapir, about 1909
(Courtesy of Sapir family)*

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) has been referred to as “one of the most brilliant scholars in linguistics and anthropology in our country” (Franz Boas) and as “one of the greatest figures in American humanistic scholarship” (Franklin Edgerton). His classic book, *Language* (1921), is still in use, and many of his papers in general linguistics, such as “Sound Patterns in Language” and “The Psychological Reality of Phonemes,” stand also as classics. The development of the American descriptive school of structural linguistics, including the adoption of phonemic principles in the study of non-literary languages, was primarily due to him.

The large body of work he carried out on Native American languages has been called “ground-breaking” and “monumental” and includes descriptive, historical, and comparative studies. They are of continuing importance and relevance to today’s scholars.

Not to be ignored are his studies in Indo-European, Semitic, and African languages, which have been characterized as “masterpieces of brilliant association” (Zellig Harris). Further, he is recognized as a forefather of ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

In anthropology Sapir contributed the classic statement on the theory and methodology of the American school of Franz Boas in his monograph, “Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture” (1916). His major contribution, however, was as a pioneer and proponent for studies on the interrelation of culture and personality, of society and the individual, providing the theoretical basis for what is known today as symbolic anthropology.

He was, in addition, a poet, and contributed papers on aesthetics, literature, music, and social criticism.

Note to the Reader

Throughout *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*, those publications whose typographic complexity would have made new typesetting and proofreading difficult have been photographically reproduced. All other material has been newly typeset. When possible, the editors have worked from Sapir's personal copies of his published work, incorporating his corrections and additions into the reset text. Such emendations are acknowledged in the endnotes. Where the editors themselves have corrected an obvious typographical error, this is noted by brackets around the corrected form.

The page numbers of the original publication are retained in the photographically reproduced material; in reset material, the original publication's pagination appears as bracketed numbers within the text at the point where the original page break occurred. To avoid confusion and to conform to the existing literature, the page numbers cited in introductions and editorial notes are those of the original publications.

Footnotes which appeared in the original publications appear here as footnotes. Editorial notes appear as endnotes. Endnote numbers are placed in the margins of photographically reproduced material; in reset material they are inserted in the text as superscript numbers in brackets. The first, unnumbered endnote for each work contains the citation of the original publication and, where appropriate, an acknowledgment of permission to reprint the work here.

All citations of Sapir's works in the editorial matter throughout these volumes conform to the master bibliography that appears in Volume XVI; since not all works will be cited in any given volume, the letters following the dates are discontinuous within a single volume's references. In volumes where unpublished materials by Sapir have been cited, a list of the items cited and the archives holding them is appended to the References.

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Preface

Volumes I-VI of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* consist, for the most part, of shorter papers; by contrast, Volumes VII-XV are devoted to longer works of monographic nature — grammars, dictionaries, text collections, and extended ethnographic accounts. Many of these were published by Sapir during his lifetime; others were edited by his students and published after his death; still others are only now being edited and published for the first time. The organization of each individual volume in this latter group brings together, in most instances, works on a single language and culture; in a few volumes, however, the unifying element is one of linguistic family or of culture area.

Preparation of these monographic volumes has been aided by grants from the National Science Foundation (grant no. BNS-8609411), the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Sapir's first field work, carried out in 1905 while he was still a student, was with the Wishram, a Chinookan group of Washington state. Accordingly, as the first of the "monographic" volumes in *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*, the present Volume VII contains the two major publications which resulted from that field work, the *Wishram Texts* of 1909 and the *Wishram Ethnography* co-authored with Leslie Spier, published in 1930. Permission for these reprintings has been kindly granted by the American Ethnological Society and the University of Washington Press, respectively. In addition, a retranscription and reinterpretation by Dell Hymes of the first narrative in *Wishram Texts* is here published for the first time.

The somewhat incomplete index which was published with Sapir and Spier's *Wishram Ethnography* has been replaced by a newly prepared index which covers the entire contents of the present volume.

We thank Regna Darnell and David French for their helpful comments on the introduction, and Jane McGary for editorial assistance.

Editorial work on this volume was carried out by William Bright while a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford; thanks is given for financial support provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Introduction

In the summer of 1905, Edward Sapir devoted his first field trip to Wishram, a Chinookan dialect. He was at the time a graduate student under the direction of Franz Boas at Columbia University. From a letter which Sapir wrote to A. L. Kroeber in May of that year (Golla 1984: 1), it appears that the original plan was to study the closely related Wasco dialect, spoken at the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon; but in fact Sapir spent July and August with the Wishram at the Yakima Reservation in Washington state, where his principal consultant was Louis Simpson, whose life and personality Sapir sketches in the introduction to *Wishram Texts*. (Emulating the practice of Boas, Sapir also trained his translator, Pete McGuff, to write Chinook phonetically, and was subsequently able to obtain several texts from him by correspondence.) The immediate results of this work were one of Sapir's earliest published papers, "Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook" (1907c), and a monograph, *Wishram Texts* (1909d), reprinted in the present volume. (The latter work also includes two short texts collected by Boas around 1890 in Wasco and in Clackamas; and a group of Wasco texts in English translation, collected by Jeremiah Curtin at Warm Springs in 1885, and edited for publication by Sapir, at the insistence of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which paid Sapir's field expenses.)

Sapir rarely found time to return to his Wishram data after the initial reports he made. The Chinookan linguistic stock was well studied by the standards of the time and did not prove pivotal in Sapir's later classificatory work. Sapir was confident of the quality of his linguistic work on Wishram, assuming correctly that his analysis would supersede that of Boas (Sapir to Boas, 12 December 1908; 9 March 1909; American Philosophical Society). He was less confident about the adequacy of his ethnological work on Wishram; in a letter to W. H. Holmes of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who considered Sapir his Wishram expert, Sapir said he was not "yet able to write out a well-rounded ethnologic account of these tribes" (2 June 1907, Bureau of American Ethnology). Nonetheless, Sapir agreed to write a brief sketch for the *Handbook of American Indians*.

Years later, Sapir and Leslie Spier pooled their ethnographic data to produce another monograph, *Wishram Ethnography* (Spier and Sapir 1930), also reprinted here. Spier and Sapir worked in similar styles, collecting many texts describing the traditional Wishram culture. Each had a primary, elderly consultant and a younger, bilingual and literate translator (Louis Simpson and Pete McGuff for Sapir, Mabel Teio and Frank Gunyer for Spier). Spier's amalgamation of his own data from his fieldwork in 1924 and 1925 at the Yakima Reservation with Sapir's from 1905 makes no distinction between the two time periods, frequently citing evidence from Simpson and Mrs. Teio in the same paragraph.

Sapir was only peripherally involved in the preparation of *Wishram Ethnography*. His main contribution was to provide his materials to Spier. Even combined, the two scholars' materials did not fully describe Wishram culture; but because of the decline of the spoken language and loss of culture, it was the most complete description that would ever be possible. Spier searched historical and ethnological records for any data that might supplement his and Sapir's work. The result is a classic work of salvage ethnography, showing the urgency Boasian anthropologists felt to record dying languages and cultures at the eleventh hour. The University of Washington series in which *Wishram Ethnography* appeared was dominated by this conviction. Spier and Erna Gunther, then his wife, contributed much of the early material in this series.

Spier's obituary of Sapir (1939) reflects his great respect for Sapir as an ethnographer: "His ethnographic studies were, for the most part, incidental products of his linguistic work. But this gave them a distinctive quality, namely a constant illumination from linguistic insights."

By the time *Wishram Ethnography* appeared, Sapir was overburdened by other commitments. Spier had hoped that Sapir would review the forms Spier had transcribed in an orthography which is not linguistically sophisticated, and normalize them to the orthography used in the early texts. Sapir, however, never did so, and Spier acknowledges in his introduction that his own transcriptions are "much less satisfactory" than Sapir's.

For more recent ethnographic and ethnohistoric publications on the Chinookan peoples, see French (1961) and Ruby and Brown (1976).

In aboriginal times, the Chinookan peoples occupied the lower course of the Columbia River in both Oregon and Washington. It is customary to distinguish Lower and Upper groups. The Lower Chinookan language, already near extinction at the end of the 19th century, was originally spoken by the Chinook proper or Shoalwater Chinook, on the Washington side of the river's mouth, and by the Clatsop on the Oregon side. The Kathlamet dialect, somewhat farther upriver, became extinct around the same time; it may be seen as occupying a position intermediate between Upper and Lower Chinookan (Hymes 1981: 15-16). The Clackamas dialect, once spoken in the area where the Willamette River joins the Columbia, and the near-identical Wishram and Wasco varieties, spoken near The Dalles on the Washington and Oregon sides of the river respectively, are definitely assignable to Upper Chinookan; these dialects were all known in the native language as Kiksht. In the nineteenth century, most of the Wishrams were removed to the Yakima Reservation, and the Wascos to the Warm Springs Reservation, where their descendants continue to reside along with Indians of several other linguistic stocks. The Kiksht language is approaching extinction in both these sites.

Salvage field work on Shoalwater Chinook was carried out in 1890-91 by Franz Boas with the speaker Charles Cultee, who was also fluent in the Kathlamet dialect. Boas published a sketch of the Shoalwater dialect in 1893, a volume of Shoalwater texts in 1894, a volume of Kathlamet texts in 1901, and a detailed grammatical study of Shoalwater Chinook in 1911. (Boas's notes were

also the basis for a paper on Shoalwater verb morphology by Swanton, 1900.) In 1905, as noted above, Boas sent Sapir to continue Chinookan research by investigating Wasco-Wishram. This resulted not only in the publications by Sapir already noted, but also in two sections on Wishram by Sapir (1911g) in the grammar of Boas, followed by "A Chinookan Phonetic Law," a study in internal reconstruction (1926a).

Sapir never revisited the Northwest to continue work on Chinookan. In 1930-31 his student Walter Dyk gathered field data from Philip Kahlamet (1900-1959), a Wishram speaker who later traveled to Yale University for further work with Dyk and Sapir (see Emeneau 1933: 234, fn. 5). Dyk's 1933 dissertation remains in manuscript form. Melville Jacobs, a student of Boas, collected extensive texts in 1929-30 from Victoria Howard, a speaker of Clackamas; these were published in 1958-59 and provided the main data for Jacobs (1959).

More recent field work on Chinookan—necessarily on Wasco-Wishram, since other varieties had become extinct—was carried out by Dell Hymes and others. In 1955 Hymes completed his dissertation on Kathlamet, based on an analysis of the texts published by Boas (1901). For other studies of Upper Chinookan linguistic structure, one may consult Dyk and Hymes (1956), Silverstein (1974), and Hymes (1975b), as well as the more ethnolinguistically oriented papers of French (1958), Hymes (1961, 1966), and Silverstein (1985).

As to the value of texts such as those found in this volume, one can do no better than to quote Sapir himself. In a review (1912d) of Boas's *Kwakiutl Tales* (1910), he made these cogent remarks:

"There can be small doubt that with more intensive study of American languages the details of phonetic variation, word-structure, and sentence-building will receive increased attention. The necessity of extensive linguistic materials in the form of native texts will then become apparent. A true psychology of language, as of every other form of human thought and endeavor, is possible only on the basis of a close study of its minutiae. . . . Text material deserves the careful study of the ethnologist as well as of the linguist, for in them are scattered a host of valuable data bearing on mythologic and religious concepts, ritualistic elements, social organization, and many another ethnological topic. The ethnological data that are to be gleaned from native texts generally acquire an added interest from the fact that they are presented in a specifically native setting."

Sapir goes on to say: "An aspect of the study of methodology that has not yet been given the attention it deserves is style, under which term may be comprised construction of plot, employment of conventional mythological motives, character definition, and mythologic diction. Other literary forms, such as speeches, prayers, and songs, have each their own peculiarities of style."

He concludes: "It is obvious that the proper handling of these subjects, which are bound to prove of great psychological interest in the study of primitive culture, requires a great deal of illustrative text, far more, indeed, than is generally at hand. . . . Future students of language and culture will complain of a paucity rather than a superabundance of . . . text."

Sapir's broadly humanistic view of oral narrative, though neglected during his lifetime, is reflected in the work of Melville Jacobs, who also drew upon Chinookan texts in his influential *The Content and Style of an Oral Literature* (1959). Today the specialized discipline of ethnopoetics is recombining linguistics and literary criticism, surely in the spirit of Edward Sapir, to attain heightened appreciation of oral narrative.

In the forefront of this development, Hymes has focused attention on Chinookan oral literature in a series of works (especially to be noted are the works listed as Hymes 1953, 1975a, 1976, 1980, 1984a, and 1984b). It was Hymes's insight that, although texts such as those collected by Boas, Sapir, and Jacobs had been published as "wall-to-wall" prose, divided merely into sentences and paragraphs, it was nevertheless possible—even though one might no longer be able to work with living speakers—to identify in these narratives more complex structures of discourse, with elements both of dramatic literature ("acts," "scenes," etc.) and of poetic composition. The latter structure has been characterized by Hymes in terms of "measured verse"—an organization of lines and verses, defined not in terms of the Old World features of rhyme or meter, but rather by regularities of lexical, grammatical, and semantic structure. The final product consists not only in reformatted versions of the original texts, but also in radically rethought English translations, presented in a format appropriate to dramatic poetry. These allow not only the specialist, but the general reader as well, to get some sense of the structural principles that animated traditional oral narrative—some appreciation for the aesthetic effects of humor, pathos, and suspense which must have been created by the performances of fireside story-tellers on the Columbia River, during winter nights for centuries before the White invasion.

We are pleased to include in this volume Hymes's previously unpublished retranscription and ethnopoetic analysis of "The Origin of Fish in the Columbia" (*Wishram Texts*, 2-7), retitled "Coyote Frees the Fish" in recognition of its culture-hero and protagonist.

Wishram Texts

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Wishram Texts, forming the bulk of the Upper Chinookan material presented in this volume, were obtained, for the most part, in Yakima Reservation, situated in southern Washington, in July and August of 1905. A portion of the material (last two episodes of I, 1, 17, 18; II, 11; IV, 3, 14) were sent to me after I had returned from the field by my half-breed interpreter, Pete McGuff. As I had taught Pete the phonetic method of taking down Indian text followed in my own work, the additional texts forwarded by him were all in strictly phonetic shape, and are published here with such comparatively slight revision as they seemed to demand. Besides the two short Wasco and Clackamas texts that were collected many years before by Dr. Boas, and are here published as an Appendix to the Wishram Texts, these texts of Pete's are the only Indian linguistic material embodied in this volume not personally obtained in the field. The work in Yakima Reservation was undertaken under the direction of the Bureau of American Ethnology. For permission to publish the Wishram texts in the present series I have to thank Professor W. H. Holmes, the Chief of the Bureau. The remainder of the Wishram material, together with ethnological specimens and information secured by correspondence with Pete McGuff, was obtained under a private grant from Mr. G. G. Heye of New York City. It is a pleasure to record his liberality in this place.

The approximately 1500 Indians (according to the Census Report of 1890) who now make up the population of

Yakima Reservation belong to two quite distinct linguistic stocks. The greater part (chiefly Yakima and Klickitat Indians) are speakers of Sahaptin dialects, the minority (Wishram, more properly Wi'cxam, Indians; their own name for themselves is *Ha'xluit*) speak that dialect of Upper Chinookan that is illustrated by the present texts; before their removal they occupied the northern bank of the Columbia about The Dalles. The number of the latter was given by Powell as 150 for the year 1885-86. According to the information supplied by Pete McGuff, the number of Wishram individuals still able to speak their own language is about 150, this estimate including those that regularly live at the fishing village of Wishram on the Columbia. The more numerous Wascos (238 according to Powell) of Warm Spring Reservation, Oregon, speak the same language. As is to be expected from the decided preponderance of Sahaptin Indians in Yakima Reservation, most of the Wishrams speak, or at least have a smattering of, Klickitat, as well as their own language and the Chinook jargon; very few, however, if any, of the Sahaptin-speaking Indians, can also speak Wishram, the language having a reputation for great difficulty, chiefly, it is probable, because of its harsh phonetics.

The bulk of the linguistic material obtained in the field (I, 1 [except last two episodes], 2-10, 12-16; II, 1-5; IV, 1, 2) was dictated by Louis Simpson (Indian name *ME'nait*), Pete McGuff serving as interpreter; Pete McGuff himself was the narrator of most of the remainder (I, 11; II, 6-10; III); while Louis's brother Tom Simpson (Indian name *Ta'xcani*), the since deceased head of the Shaker Church in Yakima Reservation, was the source of two very short texts (I, 1 [variant of second episode]; II, 12). The seven texts already referred to as having

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been taken down by Pete himself were dictated by various elderly Indians, — Yaryarone, Sophia Klickitat, Jane Meacham, and A'NEWIKUS.

A few words in reference to Louis Simpson and Pete McGuff may not be out of place. Louis Simpson is a fair example of the older type of Wishram Indian, now passing away. Of short and stocky build, bow-legged from constant riding on horseback, he is about seventy or seventy five years of age, of an impatient and somewhat selfwilled temperament, dramatically talkative, with a good deal of the love of gain and bargain-driving proclivities with which many of the early Western travellers charged the Indians about The Dalles ; yet, despite this, he proved to be a lovable personality, owing chiefly to his keen sense of humor. He has a command of Wishram, Klickitat, and the Chinook jargon ; but his English is extremely broken, hardly intelligible at times. Superficially, Louis is a convert to the ways of the whites ; in other words, he is a "civilized" Indian, — lives in a frame house, raises and sells wheat and hay, is dressed in white man's clothes, is theoretically a Methodist. Judging by the contents of his mind, however, he is to all intents and purposes an unadulterated Indian. He implicitly believes in the truth of all the myths he narrated, no matter how puerile or ribald they might seem. Coyote he considers as worthy of the highest respect, despite the ridiculous and lascivious sides of his character ; and with him he is strongly inclined to identify the Christ of the whites, for both he and Coyote lived many generations ago, and appeared in this world in order to better the lot of mankind. On one point Louis always insisted with great emphasis, — the myths as he told them were not invented by himself, but have been handed down from time immemorial, and hence have good claims to being consid-

ered truth. Pete McGuff, on the other hand, may serve as a type of the younger generation of Indian, though only a half-blood (his father was a negro, his mother is a full-blood Indian). Having lived much of his life with the Wishrams, he speaks their language fluently, though long contact in early life with the Cascades Indians on the Columbia is responsible for a number of un-Wishram phonetic peculiarities that the linguistic material obtained from him exhibits. He has not of course that feeling for the old Indian life, and faith in the truth of the myths, that a man like Louis Simpson has; nevertheless, in spite of his white man's rationalism, he is not at all disposed to dismiss as idle the ideas of the Indians in regard to medicine-men and guardian spirits. He has been trained in the Agency school, reads and writes English well, and in general displayed throughout remarkable intelligence; he has been of the greatest help to me, both in the field and in correspondence, and I take this opportunity of thanking him.

The arrangement of the texts into the heads of Myths, Customs, Letters, Non-Mythical Narratives, and Supplementary Upper Chinookan Texts, is self-explanatory, and need not be commented upon. An effort has been made to secure as many types of text as possible, both in order to obtain a reasonably wide range of linguistic data and to give at least some idea of various sides of Indian life and thought. Some brief remarks have already been made on the subject of Wishram mythology in another place.¹ The myths now presented, together with the late Mr. Curtin's "Wasco Tales and Myths," in the latter part of the volume, will serve as evidence for the statements there made. In regard to the Wishram language itself,

¹ Sapir, Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook (*American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 9, pp. 542-544).

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it is intended sooner or later to publish a complete study of it. Practically the only thing in print explicitly devoted to it is the brief article already referred to.¹ The English translation has been so arranged as to correspond paragraph for paragraph, and, in the main, sentence for sentence, to the Indian original. Some will find the translation painfully literal; I shall more cheerfully bear this charge than that of having given a misleading or slovenly rendering.

I cannot close these preliminary remarks without expressing my sense of deep obligation to Dr. Franz Boas. It was by his advice and under his guidance that the work of which this volume is a product was undertaken; it is a heartfelt pleasure to thank him for the friendly advice and assistance he has given during its prosecution.

EDWARD SAPIR.

Philadelphia, Pa., March 19, 1909.

¹ Sapir, Preliminary Report, etc. (*American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 9, pp. 533-542). The main points of structure are identical with those of Lower Chinook. For this dialect, see Swanton, *Morphology of the Chinook Verb* (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 199-237); Boas, *The Vocabulary of the Chinook Language* (*ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 118-147); and the more systematic study of Chinook soon to appear in Dr. Boas's *Handbook of American Indian Languages*.

I. — MYTHS.

1. ISKLU'LEYE QE'NGI GALI'XÔX DA'UYABÔ WÎLX.¹*The Origin of Fish in the Columbia.*

Isklu'leye² icqagi'lak gatca'wiqlaxit itcta'natek. Kxwôpt
 galieglu'ya, tk!a'munak ickté'lgwiptek wimaña'mt. Kē'nua
 ik!a'munak gali'xôx. Gayuxu'ni. Aga kxwô'pt na'qxi
 gacgige'lga. Gēē'ltēptek, gali'kta yā'xiba cā'xaliḡ, ik!a'ckac
 5 gali'xôx. Gasí'xelutk, gayaxa'limaḡ, wít!a gayuxu'ni.
 Gackē'gēlkel yuqxé'lqt. Gacxlu'xwa-it: "Itkxwa'id idé'l-
 ḡam; itxni't da'uḡex itk!a'ckac." Naxlu'xwa-it axk!é'skax:
 "Antkḡelgā'ya." Aga kxwô'pt axgô'qunk na'qxi tq!êx
 gaklô'x itk!a'ckac. Aga kxwô'pt ḡuxu'nit. Axgô'qunk
 10 naxlu'xwa-it: "Isklu'leye ya'xtau." Wā'au axk!é'sgax
 gakḡel'lgax, gaktakxa'-ima itk!a'ckac akní'mba.

Gacx^uk!wa'x tctôqña'mt. Łuqxwí'lqt, gaḡksu'kḡam. Gaḡ-
 kcu'x dakda'k, i'wi i'wi gaḡkcu'x. Qucti'axa ika'la ik!a'c-
 kac. Axk!é'skax gala'kim: "Itlu'kti ik!a'ckac ika'la bam'
 15 itk!a'munak." Aga kxwô'pt galu'ya, ḡq!ô'p gagi'ux iga'kwal,

¹ Under this title are included fourteen short myths dealing with Coyote as culture-hero and transformer, often as trickster. They, very likely with others not obtained, evidently belong together as a sort of Coyote cycle, and were, with the exception of the last two, told by Louis Simpson as one myth in the order here given. The conception that keeps them together is that of Coyote travelling up the great Columbia as, in the main, corrector of the evils of the mythic or pre-Indian age, the order of the separate incidents being determined by the topo-

I. — MYTHS.

I. WHAT COYOTE DID IN THIS LAND.¹*The Origin of Fish in the Columbia.*

Coyote² heard about two women who had fish preserved in a pond. Then he went to them as they were collecting driftwood from the river. He turned himself into a piece of wood trying (to get them to pick him up). He drifted along. But then they did not get hold of him. He went ashore, ran off to way yonder up river, and transformed himself into a boy. He put himself into a cradle, threw himself into the river, and again drifted along. The two women caught sight of him wailing. They thought: "Some people have capsized, and this child is drifting towards us." The younger one thought: "Let us get hold of it." But the older woman did not want to have the child. Now it was drifting along. The older one thought: "That is Coyote." Nevertheless the younger woman took the child and put it in a canoe.

The two women started home towards their house. The child was wailing, and they arrived home with it. They took off the cradle from it and looked closely at it. As it turned out, the child was a boy. The younger one said:

graphic sequence of the villages at which they are localized. Compare the Coyote myth in Boas's Chinook Texts (pp. 101-106) and Kathlamet Texts (pp. 46-49), though the establishment of taboos, which is the chief conception in these, is not at all strongly marked in the Wishram Coyote cycle.

² Compare, as a striking parallel of this myth, Goddard's Hupa Texts (pp. 124, 125), where *Vimantuwiñyai*, the Hupa culture-hero, is also fed with eels by a woman who guards all the salmon.

ciê'lict gagi'lukemit iak^uçxa'tpa. Na'wit kxôpt gatceu'tuke,¹ sâ'q^u sâ'q^u gatceu'lxum. K!u'na gagi'lut, wi'tla gatceu'tuke citli'xka. Kxwôpt gayugo'ptit, cikxa'imat ci'tliç yak^uçxa'tpa. Gackim: "Iogo'ptit; ag' atxu'ya itk!u'na
 5 tk!a'munak."

Aga kxwôpt gactu'ya yâ'xi. Galixle'tek, gatceu'ket ya'xi ctu'it. Aga kxwôpt dakda'k galixôx. Aga kxwôpt gatcu'gwiga teta'lxlem. Kxwôpt galixi'lqtck uxwaqlê'walal. Gatke'kst aga galixlxlé'mtek. Gacugwēge'lx itc-
 10 ta'lxlem wi'la'laba uxwaqlê'walal. Aga kxwôpt i'wi i'wi gacé'uxix. Ts!eks gacixlu'xix. "Dab' a'ntcuqxida'midaba. Aga kxwôpt atgi'a yaga'itpa wi'ma." GWE'nema itga'bun gatchu'x, igá'benac é'negi gatchu'x. Aga kxwôpt gatchli'ma kwô'ba. Wi'tla galix^uk!wa'x itcôqlia'mt.
 15 Wi'tla da'ukwa gasi'xlutk. Wi'tla kwô'ba galikxa'ima igá'k!wal ciê'lict. Wi'tla gayugo'ptit.

Aga gactu'yamx. "Yâ'qxwiu ik!a'ckac," gacki'mx, "palala'i itlu'kti ik!a'ckac, iagē'wam." Aga kxwôpt galó'qwē. Gayutcu'ktix, yâ'qxwiu ik!a'ckac. Wi'tla gactu'ya tk!a'-
 20 munak. Witla gatcege'lkel ya'xi ctu'it. Aga kxwôpt nixelga'ulx. Aga kxwôpt teta'lxlem gatcu'gwigax. Aga kxwôpt galixi'lqtck, sâq^u galixi'lxumx. Aga kxwôpt na'wit gayu'ix liaga'benba. Gayu'yam iñêga'benba. Aga kxwôpt gatcige'lga yaga'ben. Aga kxwôpt gatcilga'mit
 25 wí'lexba yaga'ben; gacé'xga, dagwâ't wí'lex galixôx; L!a'k galixôx yaga'ben. Wi'tla íxt gatcige'lga, gatcilga'midix wí't!ax. Aga kxwôpt gu't gacé'uxix wilx; da!a'k!a'k galixôx yaga'ben. Wi'tla íxt gatcige'lga yaga'ben. Wi'tla

¹ The second *-i-* refers to *icga'kwal* "eel" (duale tantum), a form used alongside of *iga'kwal* (masc.).

“A boy is better than driftwood.” And then she went and cut an eel and put its tail in his mouth. Then straightway he sucked at it and ate it all up. She gave him another eel, and again he sucked at it, (eating up) only half. Then he fell asleep, and half the eel was lying in his mouth. The two women said: “He is asleep; now let us go for some more wood.”

And then they went far away. He arose and saw them going far off. Then he made himself loose and seized their food. He roasted the fish on a spit; they were done and he ate. He caught sight of the fish, which were their food, in a lake. Then he examined (the lake) carefully, and discovered a spot where it would be easy (to make an outlet from it to the river). “Here I shall make the fish break out (from the lake), and then they will go to the Great River.”² He made five digging-sticks, made them out of young oak. And then he put them down in that place. He started back home towards their house. Again, just as before, he put himself into the cradle. Again there (in his mouth) lay the eel’s tail. Again he fell asleep.

Now the two women arrived. “The boy is sleeping,” they said; “very good is the boy, being a great sleeper.” And then they retired for the night. Daylight came, the boy was sleeping. Again they went for wood. Again he saw them going far away. Then he got up and took their food. He roasted it on a spit and ate it all up. Then straightway he went to where his digging-sticks were. He took hold of one of his digging-sticks. Then he stuck his digger into the ground; he pulled it out, and the earth was all loosened up; his digging-stick broke. He took hold of another one and again stuck it into the ground. Then he loosened up the earth, and his digger was all

² That is, Columbia River. The word *wi'mat* of the text is never used to refer to any other river. All other streams are denoted by *wi'qxał*.

gacilga'mitxix; dagwā't gacī'ux wīlx, da!lak!a'k galixōx
 yaga'ben ila'lu'n. Gacige'lga ila'kt; wī'tla !lak galixōx
 yaga'ben. Ā'ga gacige'lga ilagwe'nema, gacilga'mitxix;
 dagwā't gacī'uxix wī'lx. Aga kxwō'pt gadigusgwa'ix
 5 uxōq!ē'walal yaga'īiamt wī'maḷ.

Aga kxwō'pt naxlu'xwa-it axo'qxunk; gagu'lxam:
 "Nimxatxu'lal, 'Itlu'kti ilk!a'ckac;' nā¹ ninxifu'xwan,
 'Isk!u'leye ya'xtau.' Ā'keta yak!a'mela-ix ite'txōx txa'ika
 isk!u'leye da'uya wī'gwa. Niamtxu'lal, 'Nā'qxē atk!gēl-
 15 gā'ya ilk!a'ckac, isk!u'leye ya'xtau.' Ā'keta itxa'giutkwōx
 itxō'x, ite'txōx isk!u'leye." Aga gactu'ya tctō'qīamt.
 Aga ya'xt!ax galieglu'ya tctō'qīa'mt.

Gatecu'lxam: "Aga ḷga pu qxā'ma mte uxōq!ē'walal
 nu'gw ōmtku'xwa? emtōts!ī'nōn, ag' ayamdulxa'ma mda'i-
 15 ka. Aga q!oa'p atgadi'mama ide'lxam da'uyaba wī'lx;
 emtxe'luitcatk." Aga ide'lxam qxawite' melit "du'lululu." —
 "Aga atgadi'mama da'uyaba wī'lx; daxda'uaitc itga'xlēm
 ide'lxam. Cma'nix aqiu'xwa ixq!ē'walal kxwō'pt pu am-
 tōdī'mama mda'ika. Imda'xleu igi'xōx isk!wō'latsintsīn
 20 mda'ika. Aga da'uya wī'gwa ila'mtkuḷk; qē'dau yamdu'p-
 quna, 'Sk!wō'latsintsīn.' Cmanix atgadi'mama ide'lxam
 atkigēlgā'ya ixq!ē'walal. Aga kxwō'pt amtōdī'mama mda'i-
 ka, aqemdupqunā'ya, 'Isk!wō'latsintsīn icdī'mam; gate-
 cu'pgena isk!u'leye.' Qē'dau pu alugwagi'ma ide'lxam.
 25 'Da'uctax gatexcke'm isk!u'leye iteta'natek; aga cda'x-
 dax icdī'mam.'" Qē'dau agatecu'pgena isk!u'leye.

Coyote and the Mischievous Women.

Aga kxwō'pt galilwilxt wī'maḷ isk!u'leye. Gayuyā'2
 gayu'yam ixtpō' wīlx. Gacage'lkel ane'mcke i'nad wī'-

¹ Contracted from na'ya.

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broken to pieces. He took hold of another one of his digging-sticks. Again he stuck it into the ground; he loosened the earth all up, and his third digger was all broken to pieces. He took hold of the fourth one; again his digger broke. Now at last he took hold of the fifth and stuck it into the ground; he loosened the earth all up. And then the fish slid over into the Great River.

Now then the older woman bethought herself. She said to her companion: "You said, 'The child is good;' I myself thought, 'That is Coyote.' Now this day Coyote has treated us two badly. I told you, 'Let us not take the child, that is Coyote.' Now we have become poor, Coyote has made us so." Then they went to their house, and he too went to them to their house.

He said to them: "Now by what right, perchance, would you two keep the fish to yourselves? You two are birds, and I shall tell you something. Soon now people will come into this land. Listen!" And the people could be heard "du'lululu" (like thunder rumbling afar). "Now they will come into this land; those fish will be the people's food. Whenever a fish will be caught, you two will come. Your name has become Swallows. Now this day I have done with you; thus I shall call you, 'Swallows.' When the people will come, they will catch fish; and then you two will come, and it will be said of you, 'The swallows have come; Coyote called them so.'² Thus will the people say: 'From these two did Coyote take away their fish preserved in a pond; now they have come.'" Thus did Coyote call those two.

Coyote and the Mischievous Women.

Then Coyote travelled up the river. He went and went,

² This explains why the coming of the swallows is synchronous with the first salmon-run in the spring.

- mał. Aga kxwô'pt gagigi'lumnitek i'nadmax wímał:
 "Qe'nēgi nxlú'xwan ma'íkaba." Qxē'dau gagiu'lxam a-
 nemecke isklú'leye. Kxwôpt galixlu'xwa-it: "Hē tq!é'x
 ag' anó'xw' anē'mēcke lga." Gayaxa'limalx, le'p gali'xôx.
 5 Galiktô'ptek gategełke'lɣpa. Gasixlu'tk; klā'ya. E'wi ga-
 li'xôx gayaxa'limalɣpa. Kxwô'ba ckā'xax. Wí'tla gaya-
 xa'limalx; le'p gali'xôx ilteqô'ba. Galixlu'xwa-it: "Qucti'-
 axa tq!é'x cknuxt; icē'nqôq klma na'it!ax incgē'taqł." Ga-
 likte'tek; klā'2ya.
- 10 Ctā'xya i'nadiɣ q!a'tsenba gatege'lgelɣ. Nixlu'xwa-it:
 "Qucti'axa klwā'lalaq ckínu'xt." Aga teic iki'xax. Ga-
 lixlu'xwa-it: "Qe'nīgiska! qucti'axa ists!í'nôn denu'x klwā'-
 lalaq cknuxt" Galixlu'xwa-it: "K!wôtk' ā'ga!" Gategi'-
 luma: "Aga mda'it!ax kxwô'ba da'minô' imtxu'x imtts!í'-
 15 nôn ilteqô'ba. Ide'lɣam alugwagi'ma, 'Cda'uctôx isklú'-
 leye gacki'ux klwā'lalaq; ists!í'nôn gateccu'pge'na.' Dā'-
 minua wiła'laba amtxu'xwa ists!í'nôn."

(Tom Simpson's Version.³)

- Gayu'ya isklú'leye; la'x gali'xux. Gatege'łkel etmôckt
 icgagi'lak i'nadiɣ ctuwi'lal. Gacgigi'luma: "Mti' 'sk!u'-
 20 leye; tq!í'x qmuxt." Aga kxwô'pt galixlu'xwa-it: "Le'xlex
 anteu'xwa kal!a'latx, 'Axgi'kal nalu'mqta.'" Aga kxwô'pt
 niktea'x. Aga kxwô'pt gateccu'lɣam: "Kwaic nigá'temxt
 axgi'kal." Aga wí't!ax gacgiu'lɣam: "Emti'; tq!í'x qmuxt."

¹ That is, with which to catch them, so elusive were they.

² It does not appear what sort of water-birds the mischievous women were transformed into, possibly divers.

and arrived at a certain land. He caught sight of two women across the river. And then each shouted out to him from across the river: "How fond I am of you!" Thus the women spoke to Coyote. Then he thought: "Well, now I should like to have the women." He threw himself into the river and dived under. He came to land where he had seen the two of them. He looked about; there was nothing to be seen. He turned about to where he had thrown himself into the river. There they are still. Again he threw himself into the river and dived under the water. He thought: "Truly, they like me; but I for my part have left behind a fish-line."¹ He put his head above water; there was nothing to be seen.

Across yonder were the two women where he had first caught sight of them. He thought: "Truly, they make me crazy." Now he feels cold. He thought: "How now! they are really two birds, but they make me crazy." He thought: "Never mind, now!" and called out to them: "Now you two there have for all time become birds in the water."² People will say, 'These two have made Coyote crazy, so he called them birds.' For all time you two shall be birds in the lake."

(Tom Simpson's Version.³)

Coyote went along (until) he came to open country. He caught sight of two women dancing on the other side of the river. They called out to him: "Come, Coyote! we love you." And then he thought: "I shall deceive them by pretending that my wife has died." So then he

³ Tom Simpson, brother of Louis, took exception to the transformation in the first version, when this was read to him, and denied its correctness. The transformation to water-birds seems more appropriate than that into rocks, however.

Aga k̄wô'pt gayukl'í'xa q!wô'bixix; lep ní'xôx. Galí'k-
 tatek. Aga klā'ya gatecge'lkel í'nadiḡ. Ē'wi galí'xux;
 í'nadiḡ gatecge'lkel. Aga wí'tla gayukl'í'xa, galicgeklí'xa.
 Aga wí'tla q!oa'p gatecu'x. Aga wí'tla lep ní'xôx. Ga-
 5 lí'ktatek. Aga wí'tla klā'ya gatecge'lkel. Aga wí'tla ē'wi
 ní'xux; gatecge'lkel wit' í'nadiḡ. Aga k̄wô'pt nixlu'ḡwa-
 it: "Ag' antek!wa'mida." Aga k̄wô'pt gateck!wa'mit.
 Galí'kim iagó'meniḡpa, galixlu'ḡwa-it: "Ag' atga'dya Na-
 dida'nuit k!ma klā'ya pu kwa'lalaq amktu'ḡwa ide'lḡam."
 10 Aga k̄wô'pt ick!a'lamat gacxu'x.

Coyote as Medicine-Man.¹

Í'ḡat iqlí'yuxt wí'íḡatpa yuxt, yaga'l'x'ix' ixu'xt aḡxidi'w'
 ilí'paq. Aga k̄wô'pt galixla'gwa isk!u'leye; mang íaxā't
 gayu'ya. Gateó'guēkel idne'mēcke tksenbne'nḡx iteqô'ba.
 Aga k̄wô'pt nēxlu'ḡwa-it: "Anixmictxa'ma iqlē'yuxt ia-
 15 ga'l'x'ix'." Galiglu'ya; gatecu'lḡam: "Na'qē tei pu ḡka'la
 aminelmi'ctxa imiga'l'x'ix'?" Aga k̄wô'pt gatecu'lḡam:
 "Kwô'tka' yamelmi'ctḡ." Aga k̄wô'pt gatecige'lga, ga-
 tci'uk^h. K̄wô'pt gateḡutḡumi't iak!a'l'x'ix'.

K̄wô'pt lep gateci'ux k̄wô'ba saiba' ḡksenbna'nḡx. Aga
 20 k̄wô'pt gaku'ben' a'-íxad, gala-íla'-itam, gayalga'xit dapa't.
 Aga k̄wô'pt tea kô'pt gala'xux.

K̄wô'pt gaḡgag'e'lga, gaḡga'l' í'wa ḡli'wi. Gaḡga'ḡelkel
 de'neḡi í'algat. Aga k̄wô'pt klā'ya qe'neḡi gaḡkô'x pu;

¹ Compare with this myth Boas's Traditions of the Tillamook Indians (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, pp. 140, 141); Teit, The Shuswap (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, p. 741).

I I

burst out crying. He said to them: "Not long ago my wife died," and again they said to him: "Come, we love you." And then he swam up close. He was under water. He stuck his head out, but did not see them across (from where he had started). He turned around and saw them on the other side. Then again he swam, swam towards the two women. Again he approached them; again he was under water. He stuck his head out, but again he did not see them. Then again he turned about, and again saw them on the other side. And then he thought: "Now I shall take them home." So he took them home. He said in his heart, he thought: "Now the Indians will come, but you two shall not make the people crazy." So then they turned into rocks.

*Coyote as Medicine-Man.*¹

A certain old man was sitting in the trail with his penis wrapped about him just like a rope. And then Coyote passed by him and went on a little beyond. He saw some women jumping up and down in the water. And then he thought: "I shall borrow from the old man his penis." He went over to him and said to him: "Friend, would you not lend me your penis?" And then (the man) said to him: "All right, I shall lend it to you." So then (Coyote) took it and carried it along with him. Then he put it on to his own penis.

Then he shoved it under water right where the women were jumping up and down. One of the women jumped up, the penis got between her legs, and it remained stuck a little ways. And then she became ill(?).

Then the (other) women took hold of her and brought her yonder to shore. They saw that something was

- klā'ya de'n engi łq!ô'p pu gałgi'axôx. Aga kxwô'pt gał-gage'lga, mank łxle'u gałkô'x. Ia'x' isklu'leye i'nadix wi'mat; gałgiêłfê'dêłx. Galiglô'ma isklu'leye: "Wāqe'neke tceX u'mekax; axk' é'negi amegi'uxa łq!ô'p." Gałki'm:
- 5 "Qe'negi łgelxtxu'lal fi'xat? Gałki'm, 'Waqe'neke é'negi łq!ô'b emckí'x.'" Aga kxwô'pt gałgu'naxtck; gałga'gelga waqe'neke. Te!ex ga'łgux ka'xdau é'negi łq!ô'p gałgi'axux; tcaxa'-i gayalda'uixumx. Ia'xt' isklu'leye yaxi'ba łq!ôp łq!ô'p gací'ux; sā'q¹ kwôpt gacilxô'ktegôm iaga'lxiX.
- 10 Na'wid wi'tla gayu'ix isklu'leye. Qa'matki gayu'yam; kxwô'ba galixa'imaya. Aga da'ua agagi'lak itcatequ'mem aki'ax; gaqô'kła, na'wit gaqô'ketka. Gałgi'unaxł iłage'wam; gaqige'lgax icka'lax. Gałgiu'lxam: "Ag' amugwi-la-ida." Kxwôpt a'-i gali'xôx. Gayugui'la-itum, a'-i ni'xôx.
- 15 Aga kxwô'pt gayugwi'la-it, gayugwilā'zitiX. Gali'kim: "Klā'ya dan itca'łxpa, klā'ya wi'mqt itca'łxpa." Qxi'dau gali'kim icka'lax.

- Aga kxwô'pt galu'gwakim: "Yā'xib' i'xat isklu'leye yuxt idiage'wam." Aga kxwô'pt gaqjulxa'mam: "Qe'ngi
- 20 mxlu'xwan, amagi'la-ida, qemtgalemam." Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim: "Ā'2, na'qē pu anu'ya yā'xi itge'xuit; hā'ē łgwe'nemike łne'meke dan iłaka'lemax. Klā'ya! ałgent-ga'lemama łgwe'nemike; aic kla'la ałgenu'xa." Aga kxwô'pt gałklulxa'mam łgwe'nemike dan itłaxa'luke: "Ag'
- 25 amekiu'ga'lemama iqlē'yuqt idia'gēwam." Ya'x' isklu'leye te!ex gatu'xwa apxa'dit agaqla'ptcxak; tcqa'q tcqaq gatu'xwa. Aga gali'guqam; gatchu'leXam: "Iteqe'mem axqxa'tepa." Kxwôpt gatchu'mquit; galixalxni'ma dałpā'l gatchu'mquit ka!la'latx iłqa'wulqt.

¹ The Raven plays the part of the medicine-man in Wishram mythology (cf. also the story of "Coyote and Skunk," No. 15.

sticking to her, but they could do nothing with her; they could not cut it out of her with anything. And then they took hold of her and carried her a little farther away from the water. Coyote was far off across the river, and they dragged him into the water. Coyote shouted: "Split a stone (as knife); with it you will cut it off." They said: "What did some person tell us? He said, 'Cut it off with a stone knife.'" And then they looked for it and found a stone. They split it, and with the same they cut off the (penis) from her. It had run up right into her. That Coyote over yonder cut it all off. Then he turned his penis all back (to himself).

Immediately Coyote went on again; he arrived somewhere, and laid himself down there. Now this woman is sick; they took her with them and straightway carried her (home). They looked for a medicine-man and found the Raven.¹ They said to him: "Now you will treat (her);" then he assented. He went to treat her; he had consented to do so. And then he doctored and doctored (until) he said: "There is nothing in her body, there is no sickness in her body." Thus did speak the Raven.

And then the people said: "Yonder is a certain Coyote, who is a medicine-man." Then they went and said to him: "What do you think, will you treat her? We have come for you." And then he said: "Well, I could not go so far on foot; there must be five women without husbands. No! five women will have to come for me; they will just carry me on their backs." And then they went and said to five women who had no husbands: "Now you will go and bring the old medicine-man." Coyote yonder split some alder-bark and chewed at it. Then the women came to meet him, and he said to them: "I am sick in my breast." Then he spat; he showed them that what he had spit out was red and pretended that it was blood.

“Aic kla'l' amcġenu'xa kl'EMEKE'dec gigwa'ladamt itc-
 q!a'qctaġ, qa'datciġ iġqa'wulqt daġā'w' alu'ya gigwa'ladamt
 wi'lxiamt. Cma'nix iwat ca'xal itcqa'qctaġ daġā'x paġ
 anxu'xwa iġqa'wulqt, ane'mxta.¹ Gigwa'ladamt itcqa'qctaġ
 5 itlu'kti; klā'y' ane'mqta.”¹ Aēḡa't nā'wit kla'la ġaġi'ux;
 a'nīwat axkl'e'skax kla'la ġaġi'ux; ġigwa'ladamt iaq!a'q-
 ctaġ kla'la ġaġi'ux. ġaġi'uk^u. Aġa kḡwô'pt nā'wit ġa-
 yaxalġa'yapq. Nā'wit L!ma'n L!man idia'kcen ġatġalġa'mit.
 Naḡḡu'ḡwa-it: “A-iwa'u iġak!a'mela iġq!ē'yôqt; nā'x' itlu'kt'
 10 iġġenu'x iġq!ē'yôqt. Aġa kḡwô'pt L!a'x^u ġaġiḡa'da wi'lḡpa.
 Kḡwôpt ġatġe'mquit iġqa'wulqt ġaġiḡa'dabît. ġala'kim
 waga'lxt, ġaġu'lḡam: “Nā'q' itlu'ktiḡ tcl'e'l imi'ux iq!ē'-
 yôqt.”

Aġa kḡwô'pt wi't! aē'ḡat kla'la ġaġi'ux. Aġa kḡwô'pt
 15 ġaġi'uk^u. Nā'wid da'ukwa wi'tla ġatcu'xa; wi'tla ġatġ-
 talġa'mit idia'kcen. ġaġi'uk^u nā'qē yēġdix; wi'tla ġaġiḡ-
 ša'da. Witla ġaġu'lḡam: “Nā'q' itlu'kti imiḡa'da; tcl'i'l
 imi'ux iq!ē'yôqt. Si'kl'elutk; wi'tla iġqa'wulqt ġaġe'lḡpḡ,
 kḡwa' kḡwa iki'xôx.” Aġa kḡwô'pt wi'tla kla'la ġaġi'ux;
 20 aġaġi'uk^u aġaḡu'n. Wi'tla da'uḡwa ġatcu'xa; L!ma'n L!man
 ġatcu'xa. ġaġi'uk^u nā'qi ya'lḡdix aġa wi'tla ġaġiḡa'da.
 Aġa kḡwô'pt wi'tla ġaklu'lḡam a'ēḡat: “Ā' nāq' itlu'kti
 mki'uxt iq!ē'yôqt. Aġa ša'blat tclumġwē'lit, iġqa'wulqt
 ġiġe'lḡpḡ; tcl'e'l tcl'e'l mcġi'uxt.”

25 Aġa kḡwô'pt kla'la ġaġi'ux aġala'kt. ġaġi'uk^u wi'tla
 a'xta. Wi'tla da'uḡwa ġatcô'xwa L!ma'n L!man. Wi'tla
 ġaġiḡa'da. Qô'ct aġa q!ô'p iġi'uxdix itq^uli'ba itca'mqtp'

¹ An'e'mxta stands for anu'mqta.

“You will just carry me on your backs so that my head is downward, in order that the blood may slowly go down to the ground. If my head is turned upwards, my mouth will perhaps become filled with blood, (so that) I shall die. It is good that my head be down; (so) I shall not die.” One of the women straightway took him on her back; the youngest one carried him first; she carried him with his head turned down. She went along with him. And then straightway he put his hands between her legs. Immediately he stuck his hands into her private parts and fingered them. She thought: “Oh! the old man is bad; the old man did not do good to me.” So then she threw him down on the ground. Then he spat blood when she had thrown him down. One of the older sisters spoke, and said to her: “It is not good that you have hurt the old man.”

And then one of the women again took him on her back. She went along with him. Straightway again, as before, he treated her; again he put his hands into her private parts. She did not carry him long; she also threw him down. Again one (of the sisters) said to her: “It is not good that you have thrown him down; you have hurt the old man. Look at him; again blood is flowing out of his mouth, he is coughing.” And then she also put him on her back; now she was the third to carry him. To her also he did as before; he fingered her private parts. She did not carry him long, but threw him down also. And then again one of the women said to them: “Oh! you have not treated the old man well. Now he is continually spitting out much blood, the blood is flowing out of his mouth; you have hurt him badly.”

And then the fourth woman took him on her back. That woman also went along with him. He treated her also as before, fingering her private parts. She also threw

axí'mat. Gaklu'lɣam aklu'na a'ɛxat aga saq^u axoqe'nk, a'xka wala'lɣt: "QE'NEGiska mcgi'uxt iq!ē'yôqt idia'gē-wam! si'k!Elutk, itqa'wulqt lēgē'lpɣ; aga q!oa'p ag' ayu'mqta. QE'NEgi qxí'dau emcgi'uxt iq!ē'yôqt?"

5 kaba galki'm lla'ktikc: "Qxi'dau na'ya itcnu'x iq!ē'yôqt." A'ɛxat wi'tla da'uxwa na'kim: "L!ma'n L!man itcnu'x." Gaɣe'lɣamx: "Ag' a'lēma a'xt!ax alaxelqta'xid' alēma; qe'NEgi alaxluxwa'-ida yak!a'mēla iq!ē'yôqt qucti'axa."

Aga kla'la gagi'ux wi'tla ak!ē'n' a'-ixat aɣwe'nema; 10 aga gagi'uk^ut. Aga wi'tla da'ukwa gatcu'xa. Aga q!oa'p itq!ē'ba; aga gagiula'da kɣwô'ba. Aga kɣwô'pt itca'mxt-pa aga gaqxô'gwiga ide'lɣam atgigi'lalama ayugwi'la-ida; gaqxô'wigax its!i'nônks¹ qxí'dauēmax wí'lxpama itqcxila'-uwuke idaga'itēx idaxitce'melit; alugwa'lalam' a'lēma cpak.

15 Gali'kim idiagē'wam isku'lēye: "Aga tla'ya mcgaxi'-ma." Aga kɣwô'pt gaqaxi'ma; galuxwi'la-it ide'lɣam da'-itcka atgigi'lalama. Gali'kim idiaxi'lalit:² "Na'qē pu anugwi'la-ida na'-ima na'ika. Dabā' dan mcgiaxala'dagw' a-ila'-u qxa'date' it!u'ktix anugwi'la-ida." Aga kɣwô'pt 20 gaqige'lga ilq!oa'dit; a-ilā'-u gaqxiē'lôxix. Aga kɣwô'ba gayagu'mla-it, agatctu'lɣam: "Cma'nix ē'wi anltxa' itx-kcē'n ca'xel, aga kɣwô'pt amckla'lama."

Aga gatctu'ckam idla'lamax aga galugwa'lalamtck. Aga kɣwô'pt gayugwi'la-it; a-il!ā'k gatctô'x itka'qwit. Aga 25 kɣwô'pt gatciēlga'mit iak!a'lx'ix; gatcu'ctga. Galaglu'ma:

¹ Its!i'nônks stands for it-ts!i'nônks.

² Idiaxi'lalit (cf. -gila-it, "to doctor") denotes properly "medicine-man" in his capacity of "doctor," of dispeller of disease; idiagē'wam is used as equivalent to "shaman" in its wider sense of one who can inflict harm on others by his con-

him down. Behold, now they were approaching to where the girl was lying sick in the house. Now another one of the women, the oldest of all, — she was their oldest sister, — said to them: “How you have treated the old medicine-man! Look, blood is flowing out of his mouth; now he is close to dying. Why have you done thus to the old man?” The four women said among themselves: “Thus has the old man done to me myself.” One again said in like manner: “He fingered my private parts.” They said to one another: “Now she too will find out; she will think that the old man is bad, after all.”

Now also the other one, the fifth, took him on her back and went along with him. Her also he treated as before. Now the house was near by, and there she threw him down. And then people were gotten where the woman lay sick who should sing for him, while he was to treat (her); they obtained animals of such³ kind from the land, large deer who could make much noise; they were to sing out loud.

Coyote, the medicine-man, said: “Now lay her down carefully.” And then they laid her down; the people who were to sing for him seated themselves. The medicine-man said: “I alone would not treat her. Put something around her here to hide her from view, so that I may treat her well.” And then they took rushes and put them over her to hide her from view. Now there he sat by her, and said to them: “If I turn my hand up, then you shall sing.”

Then he took up the song, and they started in singing. And then he treated (her); he spread apart her legs. He stuck his penis into her and copulated with her. She

trol of spirits. Not every *idiaxi'lalit* or “doctor” was such a “shaman” or “*tama-noas*,” though an *idiag'wam* could generally cure disease. In the text the two words are used interchangeably for “dispeller of disease.”

³ Accompanied by a gesture in the recital.

“Ēgná’2ctglēl iŋq!ē’yòqt.” Ca’xel gatclu’x hia’kcen; gatclu’lḡam: “Age meudá’2gwaltek, cpak mckla’lēmtek.” Aga kḡwô’pt cpak galugwa’lalemtek a’lalalala. Gacxel-ga’xit ick!a’lḡix’. Iakā’xta qucti’axa ya’xta yak!a’lḡix’.

5 Iq!ô’p gatgi’ux aqē’neke E’negi; gaya’lkapq cí’tliḡ ya’xtau, qxi’dau gacuc’tgax. Gacxgla’qḡkax, gacxelga’xitḡ.

Aga kḡwô’pt ḡwô’l gatciaxu’xax. Nā’wit t!ā’ya galaxu’xwax. GagugēmteXu’qax wa’kaq: “Qē’negi aga mki’xax? Aga tci mtlu’kti imxu’x?” — “Aga ntlu’kti inxu’x

10 k!ma’ dnux iŋgnu’ctk iŋq!ē’yòqt.” — “Qxôtk’ a’-u, ga’n a-ic i’mxux; aga t!āya iŋgmu’x iŋq!ē’yòqt.” Aga kḡwô’pt gacqiu’lḡam iq!ē’yòqt: “Aga ma’ika ami’gikal iga’xux.” Galí’kim: “Na’qi tq!ē’x nḡuxt lqagi’lak. Qxa’daga ngucgi’wal; na’qi lqagi’lak k!a’xc.” Aga gayu’pa; galitgló’qḡ.

Coyote and the Mouthless Man.

15 Wí’tlax galí’lwilḡt wí’mał isk!u’leye. Gacŋe’lkel iŋgoa’filḡ qucti’axa iŋka’la iŋaxní’m ma’niḡ. Gacŋe’lkel lep ga’ḡux iŋteqô’ba. Gałkte’tck; gi’gad ix’t ina’gun, di’gad ix’t ina’gun iŋa’kcen fiŋe’lgat; gatgikxa’-im’ akní’mba ina’gun. Kḡwô’pt tk!í’ gatclu’x; gatŋe’lkel gatklô’qḡ

20 ałakce’n enegi, ŋgiôqtē’lal akní’mba. Galixlu’ḡwa-it: “LE’pet ałxu’wa anigelgā’ya anilḡu’xtga iḡt iŋa’nagun; ḡwa’nixtela qē’neg’ ałxu’wa.”

LE’p gałxô’x. Aga kḡwô’pt gayuk!wí’ḡa iŋaxní’miēmt. Gacŋe’lga iḡt iŋa’nagun. Gayu’ya, gatci’ukł iŋa’nagun,

25 gatci’upcut it!ô’xwatckpa. Aga kḡwô’pt yaxta kḡwô’ba

called out: "The old one is copulating with me." He put up his hand and said to them: "Now go ahead, sing hard." And then hard they sang and sang. The two (parts of the) penis stuck together. Truly, that was the same penis which they had cut off with the stone knife; that (Coyote) penetrated her halfway, thus he copulated with her. The two (parts of the) penis recognized each other, they stuck together.

And then he pulled it out of her. Straightway she became well. Her mother asked her: "How are you feeling now? Have you now become well?" — "Now I have become well, but the old one has copulated with me." — "Well, never mind, just keep quiet; now the old one has done well to you." And then the old man was told: "Now she has become your wife." He said: "I do not want a woman. I am walking about without particular purpose; I desire no woman." Then he went out of the house; he left them.

Coyote and the Mouthless Man.

Again Coyote travelled up the river. In the water he saw the canoe of a certain person, as it turned out, a man. He saw how (the man) dived into the water. He came up out of the water, his hands holding one sturgeon on that side and one sturgeon on this; he put the sturgeons down in the canoe. Then (Coyote) looked on and saw him count them with his finger, pointing about in the canoe. He thought: "When he dives, I shall take hold of and steal from him one of his sturgeons; let us see what he'll do."

The person dived under water. And then (Coyote) swam towards his canoe. He seized one of his sturgeons. He went and took the person's sturgeon with him, and

gayula'-itx; gali'xpsut. Aga kxwô'pt gaŋkta'ptck itaxní'mba; gaŋkŋakxa'-ima akní'mba ita'nagun í'xt wí'tla í'xt. Aga kxwô'pt gaŋklô'qŋa; wí'tla gaŋklô'qŋa. Bít gaŋklô'qŋ; í'xt ataxní'mba.

- 5 Aga kxwô'pt gaŋku'qti aŋa'kcEN, iá'niwat ca'xlíx, mank gi'gwal, wí'tla mank tlu'gigwal, ānix mank tlu'gigwal wí'lŋpa. Kxwô'ba gaŋgiu'qti yu'xtpa. Pít kxwô'b' aŋa'kcEN. Kí'nua ke'la'-ix, wí'tla kxwô'b' aŋa'kcEN; kí'nua qxa'damt, kxwô'b' aŋa'kcEN iaxka'ba iskl'u'leye. Kxwô'b' aŋa'kcEN,
 10 kxwô'ba sa'iba gaŋu'ya yaxka'ba. Nā'zwit gaŋigō'qwam. Nā'zwit q!wô'bixix gaŋigō'qwôm.

- Gatki'luqti'lalumx; galixtek!wa'n anumx; tla'ya gaŋksi-
 klu'tkax. Kwô'dau ya'xtlax tkli' gatŋu'x itgoa'ilix;
 itlu'idet itgoa'ilix. Qucti'axa k!ā'ya ita'k^ucaxat; iā'ima ita'-
 15 getc kwô'dau itsta'xus ita'mL!ôxwē. Wá'wá gaŋgi'ux
 itage'tcpa k'mE na'qxi gatŋxtcmô'q; aic kí'gwal itage'tcpa:
 "DEN den den den." Qucti'axa itgiū'mēla ya'xtau qē'dau.
 Aga kxwô'pt qē'dau gaŋgiu'lŋam ita'getc E'negi: "Naqx'
 itlu'kti ma'ika;" qē'dau itgiuxu'lal itgoa'ilix; xa'b itluxt ita'-
 20 gō'meniŋ. "K!ma tq!é'x aga itgi'uxt itga ina'gun da'ulax
 itka'la; aŋŋenuwa'gwa itga." Qē'dau nixtu'xwa-it iskl'u'leye.

- Aga kxwô'pt gaŋu'ya wí'tlax ataxní'miamt. Galixelki'ix
 gaŋu'yapET; itkla'lamat gatŋu'mitcki; watu'ŋpa gatŋŋla'-
 max. Aga kxwô'pt sāq^u gaŋxŋ'ilŋ. Gatci'uxc ina'gun;
 25 itqu'p itqu'p gatci'uxax; tla'ya tla'ya gatŋu'x itkla'lamat.
 Ina'gun gatcikxwa'tkix, gatci'qxôpk; sā'zq^u gayu'kst.
 Aga kxwô'pt da'g gatci'ux, gatci'xtk!wa. Aga kxwô'pt

hid it in the bushes. And then that (Coyote) seated himself there and hid. Then the person came up out of the water into his canoe; he put his sturgeons down in the canoe, again one and one. And then he counted them; again he counted them. Quite silently he counted them; there was (only) one sturgeon in his canoe.

And then he pointed his finger out, first up high, (then) a little lower, again a little lower still, finally a little lower still on the ground. There he pointed, where (Coyote) was sitting. Quite silently (he held) his finger there. (Coyote) tried (to move) to one side, there again was his finger. No matter which way (he moved), there was his finger (pointing) at him, Coyote. Where his finger was (pointed to), there he went straight up to him. Straightway he went to meet him; straightway he came quite close to him.

He kept pointing at him; (Coyote) kept dodging from side to side; the person kept him well in eye. And he also looked at the person; the person was strange in appearance. As it turned out, he had no mouth; he had only a nose and eyes and ears. He spoke to (Coyote) with his nose, but he did not hear him; just deep down in his nose (could be heard): "DEN den den den." In fact he was scolding that (Coyote) in this way. Thus he said to him with his nose: "You are not good." Thus the person kept telling him; his heart was dark within him. "But perhaps now this man desires the sturgeon; perhaps he is going to kill me." Thus thought Coyote.

And then the person went back to his canoe. (Coyote) made a fire when he had gone. He gathered some stones and heated them in the fire. And then they all became heated up. He cut the sturgeon in two, cut it all up, and carefully made ready the stones. He laid the sturgeon out on the stones and steamed it; it was entirely

wí'tla galiglu'ya yakā'xt' ika'la da'n ia'kc̄x̄at; galigō'q̄wam
ix̄l̄x̄e'lem̄ax isk!u'leye.

Aga k̄x̄wō'pt gatcige'lga yā'xta yukst it!u'kt' ina'gun.
Kwōpt nix̄l̄u'x̄wa-it isk!u'leye: "Qxa'tki'āx' atciu'x̄wa."
5 Gatsik!lu'tk; gatcige'lgax yaxk' it!u'kti; a'ic̄ x̄wí'x̄wi ga-
tciu'x̄ôx ina'gun; k̄x̄wōpt gatciufa'dax. Aga k̄x̄wō'pt
isk!u'leye: "Na'x' it!u'ktix̄" galix̄l̄u'x̄wa-it. Gatciugwa'-
lem̄am̄ex ina'gun; baqba'q gatci'ux damā'la. Aga ix̄l̄u-
x̄wa'nit isk!u'leye: "Qe'negi atciu'x̄wa?" Klu'na í'xt gat-
10 cige'lga; wí'tla da'ukwa gatci'uxôx.

Galiglu'ya; í'wi í'wi gatci'ux. Aga k̄x̄wō'pt galix̄l̄u'-
x̄wa-it: "Ēku'n qe'ngi aniu'x̄wa ia'kc̄x̄at anilū'xa." Qana'n
gatcige'lga iqta'lx̄; capca'p gatci'ux a'nat; galí'x̄ôx ałqi-
di'w' aql̄ē'wēqē itcak!i'sit. Aga k̄x̄wō'pt galiglu'ya; qana'n
15 teige'lgat iqta'lx̄; í'wi í'wi gatci'ux. K̄x̄i'nua galix̄tck!wa'-
nan̄em̄tck. Aga gatcikxa'im̄ax iak̄w̄c̄x̄a'tpa; x̄wí'ct ga-
tci'ux; wa'x ga'lx̄ux fiaga'wulqt; galiql̄u'tk: "Hā4 hā4."
Gatciul̄x̄am: "M̄x̄a'teckcam wimalia'mt." Galikta'ptckp̄et
pla'la igi'x̄ôx; aga wā'wā gatci'ux.

20 Gaqi'ul̄x̄am isk!u'leye: "Na'qx̄ē l̄ka yaga'it̄ imiu'qx̄ôpk
ina'gun." Aga k̄x̄wō'pt gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Hī im̄enoa'q³
pu; tq!ē'x̄ mitxt ina'gun; imí'nekux̄ ina'gun." Aga gadō-
x̄wí'k̄h̄iteck ide'l̄x̄am: "Ika'la yak̄w̄c̄x̄a't̄ iqi'lux̄." Quct
ka'nauwē ide'l̄x̄am iakā'ux̄tau í'xt wí'l̄x̄am da'n ida'k̄w̄c̄x̄at.
25 Aga k̄x̄wō'pt gatxi'geluk̄l̄; itgac̄x̄a'tke gatcta'wix̄ s̄āq^u
ide'l̄x̄am iakā'ux̄tau í'xt wí'l̄x̄am. Gatciup̄q̄ena wíl̄x̄ iakā'x̄-
tau: "Nim̄ic̄x̄a'ya."⁴ Gaqiul̄x̄am: "Agagi'lak aqa'm̄e-

¹ That is, the mouthless man.

² Whispered.

³ Im̄enoa'q is for imnu'waq.

⁴ Nim̄ic̄x̄a'ya was a village of the Cascades Indians (Wata'la) situated on the

done. And then he removed it and laid it down. Then that same man who had no mouth went back to him; he met Coyote as he was eating.

And then he¹ took hold of that good well-done sturgeon. Then thought Coyote: "Wonder what he'll do with it!" He looked at him;¹ he took the good (sturgeon). He just sniffed at the sturgeon, then threw it away. And then Coyote thought: "It is not well." He went and brought the sturgeon back and brushed it clean. Now Coyote is thinking: "What is he going to do with it?" Once again he¹ took hold of it and did with it again as before.

He went up to him and looked at him closely. And then he thought: "I don't know what I shall do to make him a mouth." Secretly he took a flint and chipped it on one side; it became just like a sharp knife. And then he went up to him with the flint secretly in hand and looked at him closely. In vain the man tried to dodge from side to side. Now he put the flint down over his mouth. He sliced it open, and his blood flowed out. He breathed: "Hä4 hä4."² He said to him: "Go to the river and wash yourself." When he had come up out of the water, he stopped and spoke to Coyote.

Coyote was spoken to (thus): "You do not seem to have steamed a large sturgeon." And then Coyote said: "Well, you would have killed me; you wanted the sturgeon for yourself. You got after me for the sturgeon." Now the people told one another: "There is a man whose mouth has been made for him." In truth, all the people of that same one village were without mouths. And then they betook themselves to him. He made

Washington side of the Columbia, about half a mile below a high rock (Ik'a'lamat) now known as "Castle Rock." To make amends for their former mouthlessness, the people of Nimicxa'ya are (or were) said to possess particularly large mouths.

lōda." Galí'kim: "Klā'ya! na'qi tq!è'x enlu'xt pu itqagi'lak; na'qi an!ge'lgaya."

Coyote and the Pregnant Woman.

Wí'tla gayu'ya isklú'leye; gali'lwilxt wi'mať. Galigu'qxôm ika'la idia'pc kla'u uxwē'xt; idia'qxwit dē'luxt pā'f
5 itkla'munak. Sixmí'nk!ť; iaqla'qctaq é'negi yutxulí't;
"Anā'2" cixelgē'xenitx. Galigu'qwôm ika'la yakā'xta.
"Qé'negi mki'ax?" — "Na'qē qxadā'ga qxi'dau enki'xax.
Axxgika'l q!oa'p ak!ge'lgaya itkla'ckac. Kxwô'ba qxē'dau
itkla'munak í'nti."

10 Gatcige'лга; dakda'k gatci'ux. T!ayā' gatctu'x idia-
kla'munak; gatceu'gmatk itpi'naťx é'negi. Aga kxwô'pt
gatiôgômte'xu'ga: "Qaxpô' môxt?" — "Iā'xiba nôxt,"
gali'kim ika'la. "Atxu'ya," gali'kim isklú'leye, "ma'niwat
emi'a naik' a'ga andu'ctxwa da'uda itkla'munak." Aga
15 kxwô'pt gatiu'l'xam: "Qxi'dau pu amdu'xwa, sí'nek!itk,
cma'nix itkla'munak amu'ya."

Aga kxwô'pt gadixlu'ctxemit iaqla'qctaq; xô'l gadi'x-
lux isklú'leye. Aga kxwô'pt gactu'ya idia'q'fiamt ika'la;
gactu'yam itq'fiba. Gatctu'ctxuit cpa'k. "Daqwā'u qē-
20 dau mka'la pu amdu'xwa itkla'munak. Amductxumi'da
cpa'k qē'dau pu daqwā'u." Gactu'pq; gatca'gelkel aga-
gi'lak; p!ā'la itca'fq, ta'ima fka'kcen atk!i'fk!iqux.

I'wi i'wi gatcu'xwax fkakce'nba; qucti'axa alka't agakce'n

¹ For similar cases in Pacific coast mythology of men walking upside down,

mouths for all the people of that same one village. He called that same land Nimícxa'ya. They said to him: "We will give you a woman." He said: "No! I should not care for a woman; I'll not take one."

Coyote and the Pregnant Woman.

Coyote again went on and travelled up the river. He met a man whose feet were tied together, and whose legs were full of pieces of wood. He was turning somersaults and standing on his head,¹ and he kept crying: "Alas!" (Coyote) met this same man (and said): "What are you doing?" — "Not of my own accord am I doing thus. My wife is soon to beget a child; therefore have I thus come for wood."

(Coyote) took hold of him and disentangled him. He put the pieces of wood in order, and tied them together with a hazel-bush rope. And then he asked him: "Where do you live?" — "Yonder I dwell," said the man. "Let us go," said Coyote; "go first while I carry these pieces of wood on my shoulders." And then he said to him: "Thus you should handle it — look at me — whenever you go for wood."

And then he packed it on his head; Coyote put it around on himself. Then they two went towards the man's house, and arrived at the house. He had packed the wood good and strong. "Moving along in this way, man, should you handle the wood. You should pack it good and strong, moving along thus." They entered the house. He saw the woman; her body was sound, only she had one of her hands covered up.

He examined her hand carefully; it turned out that a

cf. Farrand's Traditions of the Quinault Indians, p. 85.

axk!e'skax wakxa'ts itcak!aits. Datklu'b da'luxt tgaxē-xwô'lal. Ē'wi gatau'xwax; da'k!wô'p gatacô'xwax; xwô'ł gatacaxô'xwax wakxa'ts. "K!ā'ya!" gataciu'lɣam, "na'qē qē'dau agā'wan; ida'xleu wakxa'ts da'ua nigalga'xit. Qē'dau
 5 kela'īx pu amu'xwa, agā'wan amalô'xwa. Sī'nek!itk anu'ctga." Aga kxwô'pt agā'wan galaxā'lux itk!a'ckac itcawa'nba. Kxwô'pt gaku'xtum. "Qē'dau pu amlu'xwa itqagi'lak. A'kcta da'-uła itk!a'ckac ma'ika ilmi'ɣan ilxô'x. Qē'dau pu amexu'xa da'uya i'xt wī'lɣam."

Coyote makes a Fish-Trap.

10 Aga gayu'ya isku'leye. Nā'wit gayu'ya; gatacô'guikel itk!a'uwan iteqô'ba. Kxwô'pt galixlu'ɣwa-it: "Qē'ngi andu'xwa?" Aga kxwô'pt galix lu'ɣwa-it: "Anu'xw' ala'lax." Gatau'guikel itk!a'uwan itksubna'itut. Gatau'x a'lalax. Aga kxwô'pt kla'u gatau'x ala'lax, kla'u gatacā'15 iluxix. Aga kxwô'pt gatssu'bena na'wid datca'xa-i ala'laxpa.

Aga kxwô'pt gatau'lɣam ala'lax isku'leye: "Cma'ni pā'ł amxu'xwa ala'lax, cma'ni pā'ł itk!a'uan imi'k^wcɣat, aga kxwô'pt amgi'luma, 'Ū'4 nu'hemst; amgi'luma,
 20 'Aga pā'2ł itk!a'uwan ala'laxpa." Aga kxwô'pt galaglu'ma: "Ū'4 nu'hemst ala'lax;" galigi'luma isku'leye: "U'4." Aga kxwô'pt gayu'ya isku'leye, gatau'guikel aga pā'ł. Aga kxwô'pt da'k gatau'x a'lalax. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim isku'leye: "Gwā'2nesum qē'dau amcktô'xwa; gatau'x
 25 qē'dau isku'leye." (Da'uya wī'lɣ Skałxe'lemax² ia'xliu a'watci Sq!e'ldalpł.)

¹ From a rope held by two posts slanting toward each other is suspended a basket trap, into which the white salmon, in attempting to jump past, fall back.

² Skałxe'lemax, or Sq!e'ldalpł, was on the northern shore of the Columbia, above

small thorn was sticking in her little finger, and that it had white pus in it. He turned it over and made (the swelling) burst, and pulled the thorn out from it. "No!" he said to him, "not in this way is she to become pregnant; this which has been sticking in her is what people call a thorn. Thus should you treat her from now on, and you will cause her to be pregnant. See me copulate with her!" And then she became pregnant with a child in her womb. Then she gave birth to it. "In this way should you deal with a woman. Now this infant has become your own child. Thus should you people do in this one village."

Coyote makes a Fish-Trap.

Then Coyote went on; straight on he went. He saw white] salmon in the water. Then he thought: "How shall I catch them?" And then he thought: "I shall make a fish-trap." He saw the white salmon jumping along, and made a fish-trap. And then he tied¹ the fish-trap, tied it on to the string. He jumped straightway right into the fish-trap.

And then Coyote said to the fish-trap: "If, fish-trap, you become filled, if your mouth becomes filled with white salmon, then you shall cry out, 'Ū'4, I am full;' you shall cry out, 'Now the fish-trap is quite full of white salmon.'" And then it cried out: "Ū'4, I, the fish-trap, am full;" Coyote shouted: "Ū'4." And then Coyote went and saw that it was full now. Then he unloosened the fish-trap. Then Coyote said: "For all time shall you people catch them thus; thus did Coyote do." (The name of this land is Skatxe'lemax² or Sq!e'ldalpt.)

the Cascades, at the spot now known as Cooks' Landing, about half a mile below Drano. Skatxe'lemax means "eating-place," while Sq!e'ldalpt denotes "it keeps tearing out," the reference being to a lake connected with the river by a narrow creek.

Coyote spears Fish.

Aga kxwô'pt wítla gayu'ya. Gayuyā'z gayu'yam. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim: "Aga palala'i inelxa'cat iltcqoa'." Galgiu'lxam: "K!ā'ya iltcqoa'." Aga gatcige'lkel wí'maí. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim: "Iltcqoa' kla'xc lgnu'xt." Aga 5 kxwô'pt galu'y' agagilak iltcqoa'; gaktutli'b' atlí'wat. Aga kxwô'pt gagu'fada. Gasixelu'tk isk!u'leye gaca'xelq!l!x. Aga kxwô'pt gayu'ya isk!u'leye; gatca'gelga atlí'wat; gayu'ya iltcqoa'; gatclu'tliba. Aga kxwô'pt gatclu'k^u itq^uliá'mt iltcqoa'. Aga kxwô'pt gaqlu'qxumct qana'n 10 ide'lxam.

Gatcu'guikel itkla'uwan cā'xw itk^wó'kcxôt. Aga kxwô'pt gatci'ux isklu'leye itcu'lq. Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'lxam aq!ē-yôqt: "Ilu'g ifa'na; aniu'xw' itcu'lq." Aga kxwô'pt gaktli'lut itq!a'muceqceq. Nā'qxi tq!é'x gatclu'x. Aga 15 kxwô'pt gayu'ya; gatcu'x awôq'tca cu'xcux; gatca'-iginxda itcu'lqpa.

Aga kxwô'pt gatci'u'em ik!a'uwan. Aga kxwô'pt gatci'uk^u itq^uliá'mt. Aga kxwô'pt gatci'uqxôpk. Aga kxwô'pt gayu'kst; gayu'ximux iga'pkwal; qana'n ide'lxam gayu'xi- 20 mux. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Qē'dau amcigí-uxa ikla'uan da'uyaba wíl'x ide'lxam." Aga kxwô'pt gatgiu'lxam ide'lxam: "Aga agagi'lak ama'gelga." Gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Nā'qxi tq!é'x enlu'xt; nāqx' anage'lgaya qxwa'tka."

Coyote eats Dried Salmon.

25 Aga kxwô'pt gayu'ya. Kxwôbā'z gatcu'guikel wí-ixatpa itklilak. Aga kxwô'pt gadixel'mux. Aga kxwô'pt gayu-go'ptit, gayu'meqt. Aga kxwô'pt gadiql!elxi'uba icia'gítc-ba ya'k^ucxatpa wamlu'xiba. Qucti'axa wí'npō ya'xtau

Coyote spears Fish.

And then again he went on. He went and went (until) he arrived (at a certain place). And then he said: "Now I am extremely thirsty for water." They said to him: "There is no water." Then he saw the river, and said: "I desire some of the water." And then a woman went for the water. She dipped down the bucket and lost hold of it. Coyote saw that she was crying. And then Coyote went and got hold of the bucket; he went to the water and dipped it down. And then he took some water along with him to the house. Then it was drunk without knowledge of the (other) people.

He saw white salmon with their mouths agape. And then Coyote made a salmon-spear. He said to an old woman: "Give me a string; I am going to prepare a salmon-spear." And then she gave him some large beads. He did not want them. So then he went and cut up some wild-cherry bark in thin strips; he wound it around on the salmon-spear.

And then he speared a white salmon. Then he brought it to the house and steamed it. Then it was done, and they ate a side of split fish; they ate it without knowledge of the (other) people. And then Coyote said: "Thus shall you people get white salmon in this land." — "Now you shall get a woman." Coyote said: "I do not want any woman. Never mind! I'll not take her."

Coyote eats Dried Salmon.

And then he went on. Over there he saw in the trail some dried salmon. And then he ate it. Then he fell asleep and died. The salmon went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears. In truth, it was

lu'q! gatci'ux iskl'u'leye. Gatci'uwaq, gayugo'ptit. Aga kxwô'pt gatciu'pgena wíl'x. Gali'kim: "Agā' da'uya wíl'x alixu'xwa ya'xliu Itkli'lak.¹ Aga gwā'znesum amci-giu'pgena ya'xliu Itkli'lak." Qē'dau ya'xliu Ēmuyaqso'q.²

The Story concerning Coyote.

5 Aga kxwô'pt gayu'ya; gayuyā'z; gayu'la-it. Aga kxwô'pt gasi'ximk!na-uk^uatsk iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt iskl'u'leye gasi'xtuks. Aga kxwô'pt qē'dau gali'xôx; ē'wi gali'xôx iak!a'l'ix'pa, ē'wi tck!í'c gali'xôx iaq!a'qetaqba; tck!í'c gaqi'ux. Gali'kim iskl'u'leye: "Naqx' it!u'ktix imc-
10 gnô'x." Aga kxwô'pt idwô'tca gatcuxa'bu; nā'qxi tql'éx gatctô'x pu gaqxawiqla'xit. Aga idwô'tca nitcuxô'dwa-ix. Aga kxwô'pt dakda'k galu'xwax idwô'tca; itkcuqxi'dami-daba idwô'tca.

Aga kxwô'pt ka'nauwē can ga'xelqla'xit qe'negi nigí'-
15 xatx iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt iskl'u'leye wa'lu gag'lux. Aga kxwô'pt nixlu'xwa-it: "Ag' anxi'xe'lēma." Aga kxwô'pt gali'kta ide'l'xamba. Aga kxwô'pt galu'gakim: "Iak!a'mela-ix nigí'xatx iskl'u'leye; iak!a'l'ix' nici'xatukc." Aga kxwô'pt wít!a gali'kta iskl'u'leye. Galixluxwa-it: "Yā'-
20 xiba nā'cqi qxne'lq'at; k!ā'ya quct a'ga aqxnelqla'xida."

Gali'kta wít!a dí'xt í'tq'fē. Aga wít!ax uxok!a'iauwalal; "Aga nici'xatukc iskl'u'leye," duxik^uí'lal wít!ax ide'l-

¹ Itkli'lak, or "Dried Salmon," is now called "White Salmon Landing," and was formerly inhabited by both Chinookan (more particularly "White Salmon") and Klickitat Indians. Salmon was often dried, pounded, and preserved in baskets, for use in winter, and to be traded off to other tribes who came regularly to the Dalles for barter.

² Ēmuyaqso'q, or Ēmie'qsôq, was about half a mile up the river from Itkli'lak, and on the same (Washington) side of it. Its site is now occupied by "Burket Ranch." It also was occupied by "White Salmon" Indians (Itkla'uanbam' ide'l'xam), who spoke, with probably only slight variations, the same dialect as the Wishram and Wasco.

³ That is, the "story" of what he did, which would spread among the people and make Coyote their butt. A curious materialization of the mere idea of a narra-

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a flea which Coyote had swallowed. It had killed him, (so that) he fell asleep. And then he named the land. He said: "Now the name of this land shall be Dried Salmon.¹ Now forever shall you people call its name Dried Salmon." Thus is its name: Łmuyaqsô'q^u.²

The Story concerning Coyote.

And then he went on. He went and went (until) he seated himself. And then Coyote looked all around. Then Coyote sucked himself. Thus he did: he turned up his penis, and bent down his head (so that) he stooped down. Coyote said: "You³ have not done me good." And then Coyote locked up the story (of his obscene act); he did not wish that people should find out about it. So he headed the story off. But then the story loosened itself; they⁴ caused it to break out (from its prison).

And then everybody found out what Coyote had done to himself. Now Coyote became hungry. Then he thought: "Now I shall eat." And then he went among the people. But they said: "Coyote has acted badly; he has sucked his own penis." And then Coyote went on again. He thought: "Yonder I am not known; truly now they shall not find out about me."

He went on (until he came) to another house. But again the people were laughing among themselves; "Now

tive or report into an entity independent of the narrator is here exemplified, similarly to the common conception of a name as a thing existing independently of its bearer.

⁴ The text is obscure. It is said that Coyote requested all things present not to carry off the "story," but forgot about the clouds (itka'), just then sailing above the spot. Not bound by a promise, they tore out the "story" from its fastness and conveyed it to the people. Thus was explained how all had heard of Coyote's obscenity, though no one had witnessed it, and though he himself did not tell any one of it. North of the Columbia and opposite Mosier may still be seen a long, high mountain called Idwô'tea or "Story," in which Coyote attempted to lock up the "story." Its clefts are due to the sudden force with which the "story" broke out.

ɣam. Aga kɣwô'pt nixlu'ɣwa-it: "Qu'ct aga qɣnE'lqfat."
Aga kɣwô'pt gayu'ya. Aga wi'tla gayu'pqa lu'xt iŋqlē-
yôqt. Galil'flupq; gatclgE'lkel iŋgoa'filɣ palala'-i tak!wa'iyuke.

Aga kɣwô'pt gali'kim: "Wa'lu gnuxt." Aga kɣwô'pt
5 gatgiu'lɣam iŋgoa'filɣ: "K!ā'ya itlxEM. Dauya naik'
i'tclq da'uya mi'tqXEMIT iak!a'mela i'tclq." Aga kɣwô'pt
gagi'lqWIM da'uya itca'lq, iqlmí'ba gagi'lut. Gagi'lɣam:
"K!ā'ya itlxEM. Da'uya na'ika yak!a'mela i'tclq ayamel-
gUE'ma." Aga kɣwô'pt gagi'lquim. Aga kɣwô'pt galixE'-
10 lEMUX. Nā'qxi sa'iba galixE'lEMUX; nā'qxi lu'qɣ gatci'ux.
Gatciu'fada. Aga kɣwô'pt ts!u'nus gali'xôx. Aga kɣwô'pt
galixu'tk iagi'tEXUTPA, kla'u gatci'uk^u. Aga kɣwô'pt ts!u'-
nus gatci'ukl. Gayu'pa. Gayu'ya.

Gayuyā'2; gayu'yam. Galilfa'k!watek. Aga kɣwô'pt
15 gali'kim: "Mca'imadike mEXlXE'lEMAX; aga na'itla ts!u'nus
amegínglu'tka; lu'qɣ a'lem' alinxE'lEMUXUMA na'it!a."
Aga kɣwô'pt gayu'ya itkla'lamat; dalXôPLXô'p gatctu'x
isklu'LEYE. Aga kɣwô'pt gali'kim: "Mca'imadike mEXl-
XE'lEMEX."

20 Aga kɣwô'pt gayu'fa-it, gadilmu'ya. Aga kɣwô'pt
ē'wi ga'lixôx; iagē'tEXUT gatciE'lga. Da'k ɣwô'l gatci'ux.
Qucti'axa nā'mEN ixt igu'nat kɣwô'ba yagi'tEXUTPA yuxwa'xt.
Gatcixi'ma; nā'mEN igu'nat da'k gatci'ux. Nā'mEN ik!un'
i'gunat yu'xwaxt; aga kɣwô'pt gatcixi'ma. GalixlXE'-
25 lEMTCK; galixE'lEMUX saq^u. Gatciu'lxum sã'q^u iagi'tEXUT;
aya'faxit gala-ixE'lEMUX.

Aga kɣwô'pt gayu'fa-it; sa'q^u gatctu'lxum iã'giteXUT.
Aga kɣwô'pt nixlu'ɣwa-it: "Wi'tlax anu'ya; qucti'axa igu'-
nad ya'xtau ignE'lqXWIM." Aga kɣwô'pt gayu'ya. Nā'wit
30 kɣwô'ba gayu'yam. Aga kɣwô'pt gayu'pqa gagilqxi'mba;

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Coyote has sucked his own penis," again the people were saying to one another. And then he thought: "Truly now I am found out." So then he went on. Then again he entered a house (where) an old person was dwelling. He went in to this one and saw that the person had sores all over.

And then he said: "I am hungry." Then the person said to him: "I have no food. I have this flesh of mine which you see, my ugly flesh." And then she gave him to eat of this flesh of hers, she gave it to him in a plate. She said to him: "I have no food. This bad flesh of mine I shall give you to eat." So then she gave him it to eat. Then he ate, (but) did not eat in real truth; he did not swallow it. He let it fall down (until) there was a little left of it. And then he put it into his quiver and tied and took it with him. He took a little of the (sores) with him. He went out of the house and went on.

He went and went (until) he came to (some people). He got scent of something to eat. And then he said: "You are eating alone, but you will save a little for me also; I too will swallow and eat some." And then he went for some stones; Coyote bored them through with holes. He said: "You are eating alone."

And then he sat down, he was tired out. Then he turned and got hold of his quiver. He untied it and pulled out (what was inside). Behold, there in his quiver was one entire salmon. He put it down; he had taken out an entire salmon. There was another entire salmon inside, and he put that down. He started in eating, and ate it all. He ate up his whole quiver, ate his bow.

And then he sat down; he had eaten them all up, (including) his quiver. Then he thought: "I shall go back; truly it was a salmon which she had given me to eat." So then he went. Straightway he arrived there. And

wí'tla kxwó'ba gayu'ya. Kxwópt gagiulxam: "Klā'ya den ayamelū'da itxlē'm. Aga da'b' igidi'mam isklū'leye. Ini'lqxwim; saq^u itci'ulada na'ika i'tclq. Nā'qxi tq!é'x itci'ux; itci'ulada sa'q^u naik' i'tclq. Aga klā'ya dan 5 ayamelgwí'ma." Aga kxwó'pt isklū'leye gatcu'mila aq!é'yôqt nā'qxi'ba gagi'lqxwim. Aga kxwó'pt ik!ma'kan gatci'ux isklū'leye. Aga kxwó'pt wí'tla gayu'ya isklū'leye. Gayu'yam.

*Coyote and Atlatla'fia.*¹

Kxwó'pt aga galixē'ltcmaq isklū'leye Atlatla'fia ika'uxau 10 ide'lxam luxlū'x cktu'xt. Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya isklū'leye; tqló'p gatcu'x isklū'leye ifkē'nekc. Aga kxwó'pt gatcix'ca'mit; klā'uk!au gali'xelux ifkē'nekc sā'q^u iaqlā'qctaqba kxwó'dau idia'kcenba, sā'q^u kā'nauwē qā'xpa. Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya isklū'leye. A'dit Atlatla'fia. Aga kxwó'pt 15 gatca'gelkel isklū'leye Atlatla'fia. Kē'nua ē'wi gali'xôx aga wí'tlax gagi'xwô-iḡ.

Aga kxwó'pt gayu'txuit isklū'leye; kā'nauwē cē'il-lai-lai ya'tq isklū'leye. Kxwópt gagiulxam Atlatla'fia. "Qē'negi gamxa'tx?" Kxwópt gatcu'lxam: "Klā'ya p' ā- 20 mulxa'ma;² hāa'i pu ma'it!ax ayamu'xwa da'ukwa pu kxwó'dau ayamulxa'ma." Aga kxwó'pt gagiulxam: "Qē'ngi ga'mxatx cē'il-lai-lai imi'tq?" Kxwópt gatcu'l-xam: "Itck!wi'an ga'ē'nxitx sā'q^u i'tclq; kxwópt gatcni't-galq watu'tpa." Gala'kim Atlatla'fia: "It!á'ktix nai'ka 25 amnu'xwa da'ukwa; am!ē'nluxa itck!wia'n." Gatcu'lxam isklū'leye: "A!ā'melux' aga."

Aga kxwó'pt gactu'ya kanactmô'ket. Nā'2wit igitkô'qba

¹ The child-stealing woman-fiend Atlatla'fia of this myth corresponds to the Aqlasxē'nasxēna of Kathlamet mythology (see Boas, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 9-19).

then he entered where she had given him to eat; there he went again. But she said to him: "I shall give you no food whatever. Just now Coyote has been here. I gave him to eat, (but) he threw away all my flesh. He did not like it, (so) he threw away all my flesh. Now I shall give you nothing to eat." And then Coyote scolded the old woman because she did not give him anything to eat. Then Coyote became angry. And then Coyote went on again. He arrived (at another place).

*Coyote and Atlatla'fia.*¹

And then Coyote heard that Atlatla'fia and Owl were stealing people. So then Coyote went; Coyote cut up some rushes. And then he dried them; he tied the rushes on all over himself: on his head and on his hands — on every possible part. And then Coyote went along. Atlatla'fia was coming. And then Coyote caught sight of Atlatla'fia. He tried to turn aside, but without success; now (Atlatla'fia) headed him off.

And then Coyote stood still; Coyote's body was rattling in all its parts. Then Atlatla'fia said to him: "What did you do to yourself?" Then he said to her: "I would not tell you. I would first have to do that same thing to you yourself before I should tell you." And then she said to him: "What did you do to yourself to make your body rattle?" Then he told her: "I put pitch all over my body, then burnt myself in the fire." Atlatla'fia said: "It is good that you do that same thing to me, you shall put pitch on my body." Coyote said to her: "Well, I'll put it on you."

And then both of them went on. Very soon both

² P' āmulxa'ma is for pu ayamulxa'ma.

íwi gactu'yam kanaactmô'kct iskl'u'leye Atlatla'fia. Aga
 kxwó'pt iskl'u'leye gatcu'guikēl idel'xam íkablá't uxwí'nim;
 má'kct môkct ida'qxoq uxwí'la-itix kxwó'ba igitkxo'qba.
 Aga kxwó'pt gatcu'lxam iskl'u'leye idel'xam: "Kānauw'
 5 emttx'uí't." Aga kxwó'pt gathuí't idel'xam. Aga kxwó'pt
 gatcu'lxam: "Ítck!wí'an emtklge'lga kā'nauwē." Aga
 kxwó'pt gatgí'a idel'xam. Aga kxwó'pt gatklge'lga idel'
 xam ítck!wí'an. Aga kxwó'pt gatklú'klam ítck!wí'an.
 Aga kxwó'pt galí'kim iskl'u'leye: "Teí'kteík mtklá'lux."
 10 Atlatla'fia isga'xus tce'kteík gatclá'lux.

Aga kxwó'pt gatcu'lxam: "Cma'ni ma'itla Atlatla'fia
 qē'dau ayamú'xw', ała'meluxw' ítck!wí'an, sā'q" imí'fq
 atcemelgalgwa. Aga kxwó'pt idmiłxí'wulx amxu'xwa; sā'q"
 kl'wac atxa'mxuxwa idel'xam." Kxwó'pt a'ga Atlatla'fia
 15 gala'kim: "Aga 't!u'ktix amłenlu'xwa ítck!wí'an nai-
 t! a'ga."

Aga kxwó'pt gactu'ya igitkxo'qba, aga gatclá'lux ítck-
 k!wí'an. Gatcu'lxam: "Hāa'í na'íka iskl'u'leye ayamul-
 xa'ma ā'ga cman' a'łema Atlatla'fia atcemelga'lga." Aga
 20 kxwó'pt gatcutlí'wa; gatca'lgalq. Kxwó'pt galí'kim iskl'u'-
 leye: "Lq!ó'p itk!a'munak mktxa' la'kt ugil!iē'qłqix."
 Aga kxwó'pt gałgda'lgamit itk!a'munak aga'muguiba
 kxwó'dau ka'namôkct itga'xuba kxwó'dau itga'qxuitba.
 Aga kxwó'pt gałga-iktqwó'xix. Aga kxwó'pt gatca'lgalq
 25 Atlatla'fia.

Aga kxwó'pt gala'kim Atlatla'fia: "Aga tcne'lgalqt."
 Aga kxwó'pt iskl'u'leye gatcu'lxam: "Hāa'í na'íka iskl'u'-
 leye, nā'qxi ma'íka." Gatca'iktqix. Aga kxwó'pt galí'-
 kim: "Hāa'í na'íka ayamulxa'ma." Aga kxwó'pt gala'-
 30 kim Atlatla'fia: "Tcnā2lga'lqt." Gatcu'lxam iskl'u'leye:
 "Kxwa'ic na'íka ayamulxa'ma." Gatca'lgalq sā'q"; galó'-

¹ Atlatla'fia's furnace, or perhaps better barbecuing-place, was located on a small island called Atlatla'fia itcagi'tkxoq, near the Falls or "Tumwater," and only a short distance up from the main village of Wishram or Niłxú'idix. It was

Coyote and Atlatla'fia arrived at the furnace.¹ Coyote saw many people mourning; there in the furnace their children were sitting two by two. And then Coyote said to the people: "Do you all stand up." And then the people stood up. Then he said to them: "Do you all get some pitch." The people went, and then they got some pitch. And then they came bringing pitch. Then Coyote said: "Do you rub it on over her body." He rubbed it over the eyes of Atlatla'fia.

And then he said to her: "If I shall do thus to you also, O Atlatla'fia, (if I) shall put the pitch over you, you will burn all over your body. And then you will become strong, and the people will all be afraid of you." And then Atlatla'fia said: "Now it is well that you put the pitch on my body also."

And then they two went to the furnace, and he put the pitch on her. He said to her: "I, Coyote, must let you know just when you, Atlatla'fia, will be burnt (sufficiently)." And then he pushed her in, and she burned. Then said Coyote: "Do you (people) cut four pieces of wood so that they be forked." And then they fastened the pieces of wood on to her — to the front part of her neck and to both her arms and to her legs. Then they turned her over, and Atlatla'fia burned.

And then Atlatla'fia said: "Now I am burning." Then said Coyote to her: "I, Coyote, must (tell you when you're done), not you." He turned her over and said: "I must tell you." And then said Atlatla'fia: "I am burrrning!" Coyote said to her: "Soon I shall let you know." She

reckoned as the extreme eastern point on the river of the Wishram (hence also Chinookan) country.

maqt Atlatla'fia. Aga kxwó'pt ide'lxam gatctu'lxam isklul'eyē: "Ag'amcxl'wa'yuwa."

- Aga wí'tlax gací'gɛlkɛl ika'uxau Atlatla'fia aya'gikal quctí'axa. Aga wí'tla tklú'na tctu'klt ide'lxam ika'uxau.
- 5 Aga kxwó'pt gatcɛ'gɛlga ilke'mxɛm isklul'eyē. Aga kxwó'pt gaciu'lxam isklul'eyē: "Łga qā'ma pu ma'ika ika'uxau ide'lxam pu amdu'xwa qxi'dau? Klā'ya! Da'uya wí'gwa imi'xleu ika'uxau." Aga kxwó'pt gatcli-ila'gwa; daɛpuqɛpū'q galí'xôx ika'uxau.
- 10 Aga kxwó'pt galí'kim isklul'eyē: "Qloā'b atgadí'mama ide'lxam Nadida'nuit. Cma'nix ika'uxau, ide'lxam alu-gwagí'ma, 'Ag' ika'uxau qilte'melit aga quctí'axa it-goafilx ag' alu'meqta.'" Aga kxwó'pt galí'kim isklul'eyē: "Aga mtxl'wa'yu ide'lxam; ag' inuwa'q Atlatla'fia." Aga
- 15 kxwó'pt galí'kim isklul'eyē: "Nā'qxi pu qxi'dau amduxw' ide'lxam ma'ika Atlatla'fia; aga na'ik' isklul'eyē, da'uya wí'gwa imu'maqt Atlatla'fia." Qxi'dau galí'xux Niɣlu'idi-x-ba¹ kɛckɛ'cba.

Coyote in Skl'in.

- Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya isklul'eyē; galí'lwilxt wí'maɫ.
- 20 Nā'wit gayu'yam Skl'inba;² gayuxuga'nut ide'lxam Skl'inba. Gɫwa'p gayu'ya isklul'eyē kica'tekpa; itla'ma 'ngi kxwó'pt gayu'ya. Galiglu'ma. Aga kxwó'pt galí'kim: "Qa'dac gwā'2nîsîm qxē'dau amexu'xwa; amɛglu'ma; cma'nix g'wô'b

¹ Niɣlu'idiɣ, across and up about five miles from the present town of The Dalles, was the chief village of the Wishram, and contains the same stem element (-ɣluid-) seen in the generic name It'ɣluit, by which the Wishram call themselves. The first person singular of this, itɣlu'it ("I am a Wishram"), is probably the "Echeloot" of Lewis and Clarke. The etymology of Niɣlu'idiɣ is uncertain. Louis Simpson suggested that it was connected with diglu'idiɣ ("they [i.e., the people] are heading for it [i.e., the village]"), in reference to the coming-together of many different tribes of Indians at the Falls for trading-purposes. This is probably folk-etymology, as ni- is a common local prefix in place-names.

burned all up; Atlatla'fia died. And then Coyote said to the people: "Now do you all go home!"

Now he caught sight also of Owl, of whom, in truth, Atlatla'fia was the wife. And he also, Owl, was bringing along some more people. And then Coyote took hold of some ashes. Then Coyote said to him: "By what right, perchance, would you, Owl, do thus to people? No! This day your name has become Owl." And then he threw the ashes at him; Owl became all ashy gray.

And then Coyote said: "Very soon will come here the Indian people. Whenever an owl (is heard), the people shall say, 'Now an owl is hooting; now surely some person will die.'" And then said Coyote: "Now do you people go home; I have now killed Atlatla'fia." And then Coyote said: "No longer would you, Atlatla'fia, do thus to the people. Now I am Coyote, you have this day died, Atlatla'fia." Thus he did at Wishram, in . . . (?).

Coyote in Skl'in.

And then Coyote went on; he travelled up the river. Straightway he arrived at Skl'in;² in Skl'in he urinated³ on the people. Coyote went across to the Falls; he went thither by means of a round-pointed canoe. He shouted. And then he said: "Mind, now, that you always do thus;

² Skl'in was the country immediately north of the Columbia and east of the Falls or "Tumwater" inhabited by the Sahaptian tribes.

³ Coyote is supposed by the Wishram to have urinated on their Sahaptian neighbors to show their inferiority to themselves. This inferiority consists, among other things, in the use by the Sahaptians of a smaller and more rudely constructed canoe (itla'na), as contrasted with the long, elaborately built ikni'm of the Chinookan tribes. The use of this itla'na is anticipated by Coyote himself.

amcu'ya, aga kxwô'pt amcglu'ma. Mca'ika Ika'imamt;¹
qxē'dau iamcu'pgena."

*Coyote and Itc!E'x'yan.*²

Aga kxwô'pt gayu'ya iskl'u'leye wí't!ax. Nā'z'wit gayu'-
yam; galixE'ltemaq iskl'u'leye gwā'nīsīm ktu'fat!a'melqt³
5 ide'l'xam itc!E'x'yan. Qxa'damt gayu'y' iknīm nā'wit gatci-
ge'lga itc!i'x'yan; gatciufat!a'melq kā'nauwē dan. "Nait!
a'g' atcnu'fat!a'meleqema," iskl'u'leye galixl'uxwa-it. Aga
kxwô'pt gayu'y' iskl'u'leye; gatcige'lga yaga'it ik!a'munak.
Aga kxwô'pt la'x gali'xôx. Gatcige'lga itc!E'x'yan, gaqiu-
10 fat!a'meleq.

Nā'wit ittcqô'ba gi'gwal iskl'u'leye galixi'max'itam
wí'l'xpa. Aga kxwô'pt gatcugi'kel ikabla'd ide'l'xam; lga-
bla'd aknīm axu'xt kxwô'ba gi'gwal ittcqô'ba. Aga
kxwô'pt gatcige'lkel iskl'u'leye itc!E'x'yan yagô'meni' qxwô'l
15 iki'ax. Aga kxwô'pt gaqiu'l'xam iskl'u'leye: "Ya'xtau
itc!E'x'yan yagô'meni'." Aga kxwô'pt lq!ô'p gatci'ux;
lq!ô'p gali'xôx itc!E'x'yan yagô'meni'. Aga kxwô'pt kā'-
nauwē gatcxeni'utck sã'q⁴ aknīm kxwô'dau ide'l'xam kxwô'-
dau iskl'u'leye.

20 Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim iskl'u'leye: "Lga pu qā'ma ma'ima
itc!E'x'yan qxē'dau amdu'xwa ide'l'xam. Da'uya wí'gwa
aga kxwô'pt qxē'dau amdu'xwa ide'l'xam. Na'ika iskl'u'-
leye yamu'l'xam. Kwa'ic da'uyaba wí'l'x atgadi'mama ide'l'-
xam. Kxwô'pt alugwagi'ma, 'Qxē'dau ⁵E'x gatci'ux is-

¹ The Ika'imamt were the Sahaptian tribes living on the northern and southern banks of the Columbia, east of the Wishram and Wasco. They included the people of Sk'in on the north, and the "Des Chutes" Indians (Wayam and Tenino) on the south, of the river.

² The itc!E'x'yan, or Merman, of the Wishram, is evidently, as far at least as his name is concerned, identical with the gambler's protector itc!x'ia'n (its!xiá'n) of the Lower Chinook, among whom also his dwelling is supposed to be in the waters (see Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 220-222; and Kathlamet Texts, p. 19).

4¹

you shall shout; whenever you cross over, then you shall shout. You are the Ilka'imamt;¹ thus I have named you."

*Coyote and Itc!E'xyan.*²

And then Coyote went on again. Straightway he arrived (at another place). Coyote heard that the Merman was always swallowing people. Wheresoever a canoe went, straightway the Merman seized it; every one he swallowed. "Now let him swallow me also," thought Coyote. And then Coyote went and got a big tree. Then he came into view. The Merman caught hold of him, and he was swallowed down.

Straightway Coyote fell down under the water (apparently) to the bottom. And then he saw many people; many canoes were piled together there under the water. Then Coyote caught sight of the Merman's heart hanging. And then Coyote was told: "That is the Merman's heart." Then he cut it off; the Merman's heart was cut off.⁴ And then everything floated up to the surface — all the canoes and the people and Coyote.

And then Coyote said: "By what right, perchance, would you alone, Merman, do thus to the people? This day you will have had enough of doing thus to the people. I, Coyote, have told you. Soon the people will come into this land, and then they shall say, 'Thus did Coyote

Even to-day the imagination of the Wishram peoples certain bodies of water with mermen; e. g., a lake in the mountains south of Fort Simcoe (the agency town of Yakima Reservation) is said to be *ayate!E'xyaniy* ("peopled with mermen").

³ This word is used only in reference to the swallowing of anything by an *itc!E'xyan*.

⁴ Coyote used the tree to climb up to the heart, which was dangling high up out of reach.

kl'u'leye itcl'e'x'yan.' Kxwó'pt a'ga itcl'e'x'yan pla'l' am-xu'xwa."

*Coyote at Lapwai, Idaho.*¹

Aga yū'it isk!u'liye caxla'damt aga q!wa'p tciu'xdix quet
 iak!a'mela-ixba itcl'i'xiyen² ia'l'xam. Kinwa' dan idia'piqx
 5 yugwa'lal ca'xeliḡ kl'ma' dnuḡ qxa'daga ló'q! atcl'u'xwa;
 kí'nwa gi'gwalix aḡu'ya da'ukwa ló'q! atcl'u'xwa. Kwópt
 galixl'u'xwa-it: "Qxa'ngi anxuxwa?" Gatca'g'elkel wa'u-
 nem. Galixl'u'xwa-it: "Itbi'nalx andu'xwa."

Kwópt gatcu'x; a-ik!a'u gatcda'lux. Kwópt ya'xt!a
 10 a-ik!a'u gadi'xlux; aga gatcig'elkel ixí'mat yaxagalcl'wa'-
 yamit ixí'mat; sã'q^u kla'uk!au gatcu'xix itbi'nalx ili'paq
 gati'ux. Kwópt galigelu'ya; a-itsxa'p ia'lipaq gali'xl-
 xumx. Wít!a gati'ux ik!u'na ili'paq; wít!a galigelu'ya
 aga mank q!wã'p tsxa'p nixu'xwax. Wít!ax gatcu'x;
 15 wít!a galigelu'ya tsxa'p. Da'ukwa galixu'lalemtck; iḡa-
 gwe'nmiḡba aga lq!a'p galigugwa'mḡ q!wa'biḡix gwenmabã't
 ick!i'tcax.

Kwópt galigi'mx isk!u'liye: "Hī itcl'i'xian! yamuxi'muḡ
 atxlat!a'manqma." Gã'n ixí'mat itcl'i'xian. Kla'ya qxa'ngi
 20 gali'kim. Wít!a gatiu'l'xam; iḡa'gwenmiḡba kwóda'u xa'ḡ
 gati'ukct. A'i gati'ux ya'xa kla'u ilu'xdix wó'unemba
 iabina'l'x engi.

Aga fū'2³ gali'xux itcl'i'xian; qatgi cpã'k gayupsakla'xit;
 sqxi'lak pla'la gati'ux. Aga ya'xt!ax isk!u'liye gali'xux
 25 fū'2; qatgi li'xliḡ galixu'xwax itcl'i'xian Wít!a ya'xt!a

¹ Lapwai is in the western part of what is now the Lapwai or Nez Percés Indian Reservation, and lies south of Clearwater River, an eastern tributary of the Snake.

² The same word, itcl'e'x'yan, is here used for the "mountain monster" as was used in the preceding myth for the "Merman." The latter is supposed to be half

transform the Merman.' And then you, the Merman, will do no harm."

*Coyote at Lapwai, Idaho.*¹

Now Coyote goes towards the uplands, and he approaches truly a bad place, the land of the mountain monster.² Anything with wings would try to fly overhead, but still he would swallow it without difficulty; should it try to go by underneath, he would swallow it likewise. Then (Coyote) thought: "What shall I do?" He saw a hill and thought: "I shall make a hazel-bush rope."

Then he made it and tied it on to the (hill); then he tied it about himself also. Now he saw the (monster) lying down, lying with face and belly down. He tied some hazel-bush ropes all together and made a long rope. Then he went up to him; his rope ran out, falling somewhat short. Again he made another rope; again he went up to him and came a little nearer, yet fell short. Again he made a rope; again he went up to him and fell short. Thus he kept doing, and at the fifth time reached close enough, about five steps off.

Then Coyote said: "O mountain monster! I am challenging you that we two swallow each other." The mountain monster lies silent. He did not say anything at all. Again (Coyote) spoke to him; it was the fifth time before he looked up at him. He said "Yes" to him, although (Coyote) was tied on to the hill by means of his rope.

Now the mountain monster drew in his breath, — fū'2;³ the (rope) was stretched out somewhat forcibly. In a little while he let it come to rest. Then Coyote also

fish and half man, while the former is described as resembling rather a sphinx.

³ The monster had been wont to devour all beings that passed by by drawing them to himself with his breath. Fū2 represents the sound made by sucking in air.

gací'ux fū'2. Łagwē'nmiḡ qxi'dau gacxu'x. Aga cpā'k
 galí'xux itc'liḡiyan; adí'2 sem ga'lixux isk'lu'liye; qatgi a'nuit
 gayula'plategwixlitēmtck; ca'xeli ca'xeli galixu'lalēmtck aga
 qlwā'p łqlu'p iki'xax iabi'nalx; aga yā'xi calt'la'pqt wōu-
 5 na'mba kwō'ba qxi k'la'u aki'xax. Fū'4 ia'lqdiḡ gací'ux
 ala'lala łga'la kwō'dau p'lalā' gací'ux.

Aga ya'xt'la isk'lu'liye gali'xux fū'4 da'uka łga'la. Kwōpt
 gaqi'ltēmōq: "Ā'4 na, ā'4 na. Bu'x^u" gaqi'ltēmōq; ia'wan
 łgu'p galixu'xwax; gadigē'lba idiaq'a'mcukc. Qxida'uba
 10 da'minwa ixi'mat; ixkxa'-imat ia'wan. Cma'nix aqxigat-
 gwa'iaaxdiḡa na'wit łgu'p alixu'xwa ia'wan. Aga ya'xdau
 isk'lu'liye fū' gací'ux; anwit galiktgwō'xidix. Aga ya'xdau
 wā'x galuxwa'xax idiaq'a'mcukc; qxi'dau idiak'la'ni.

Aga kwō'pt cu'x^u gací'ux. Aga kwō'pt ide'lḡam gatc-
 15 tu'x yaka'yaxdau engi idiagi'wōq. A-itq'!ā'p ts'u'nus,
 l'la'x^u, i'xt wi'lḡam; qxidā'u aga gatctu'x ide'lḡam. I'wi
 gali'xux aga k'la'ya idiagi'wōq; kwaic k'la'ya Wi'exam
 ide'lḡam gatctu'x. Ya'-ima imalx^utk'lu'imat ixi'mat. "Hi
 ya'ḡka aga aniu'xwa ide'lḡam Wi'exam." Aga ga'nwit
 20 Wi'exam ide'lḡam idap'la'qxa imalx^utk'lu'imat engi; ya'xdau
 ałgi'ma ifca'xlatkc ide'lḡam Wi'exam imalx^utk'lu'imat diwi
 ifaq'ł'qxctaq caip'la'lgēq.

Wi'tla i'wi galixu'x. A'la! K'la'ya kwa'ic kwō'ba bama
 ide'lḡam tedu'xt La'pwai bama; aga k'la'ya dan. Aga
 25 kwō'pt wi'c gali'xux. Ła'-ima ifga'wulqt fi'luxt idia'kcēn.
 Kwōpt gū't gatcu'x wa'tckti; gala-ixi'nalx idia'kcēnba; ga-
 teula'da. Galí'kim: "Ya'xdau imcxu'x Cwā'nic ide'lḡam."

drew in his breath — fū₂; the mountain monster became somewhat shaky. Again he also tried to draw him to himself, — fū'₂. The fifth time the two did thus. The mountain monster went at it with great force. Oh, dear! Coyote became uneasy. Somehow he kept rising straightway; he kept getting higher and higher, and his rope almost snapped. Now the hill is worn far in at that part in which it had (the rope) tied to it. Long he tried to draw him to himself — fū'₄, and so on for quite some time before he let him come to rest.

Now Coyote, in his turn, drew in his breath, — fū₄, also for quite some time. Then the (mountain monster) was heard groaning: “Ā'₄na, ā'₄na, Bu'x^u,” he was heard; his belly burst, and his guts went out of him. It is for this reason that he was always lying down, — lying down on his belly. If he were to be turned over, his belly would straightway burst. And that Coyote tried to draw him to himself, — fū'; straightway he turned over. And that (monster's) guts were spilt out. Thus was his character.

And then he skinned him. Then he made people out of that same (monster's) flesh. (He) cut off a little, threw (it) away, one village (came into being). In this way he made people. Then he discovered that he had no more flesh, (yet) he had not yet made the Wishram people. There was only the tongue lying down. “Well, then I shall make the Wishram people out of it.” And indeed (he made) the flat-headed Wishram people out of the tongue. Therefore the people dwelling farther up say that the Wishrams' heads are like a tongue, flat.

Again he looked around. Behold! As yet he had not made any people belonging to that place, to Lapwai; but there was nothing left at all. And then he felt sorry. There was only blood on his hands. Then he plucked some grass, wiped his hands with it, and threw it away.

Qxi'dau ałgi'ma: "Cwa'nic ittlu'xialmax ilga'wulqt engi ide'lɣam; ana'i ide'lɣam idaxa'dinax."¹

*Coyote and the Sun.*²

Aga yu'it isklu'lye aga la'xiamt. Aga gayu'yam. "Hi," gatcu'lɣam aga'lax, "tlu'kdiɣ anxu'xwa nla'-itiɣ ayam-
5 uwa'lalma. Qxa'daga anɣemga'ba; emcta'mɣ." Yaɣa a'-i
gagi'ux. Ka'dux^u galugwa'wulɣ aga'lax. Galu'ya; kwô'ba
ya'xtlax isklu'lye gatcu'wa. Adí² tkli' gali'xux; ka'naw
wi dan gatcige'lkel.

Wí'tlax ka'dux^u gaedu'ix; wí'tla da'uka da'nmax ga-
10 tcu'gēgēlx, idelɣam qxa'ngimax ugaki'xax, qxa'ngi qxlū'
damit ilgagē'lak, a'watei dan qxi'uxtkt, iakla'mela dan,
qxlū'waqt; ka'nawi dan gatcige'lkel isklu'lye. Aní'x sem
ní'xux. Kwôpt niglu'ma: "Yameu'qxemit dan imcigi'uxt."

Wí'tlax gatcugē'kel; da'ukwa wí'tlax galiglu'ma: "Yam-
15 cu'qxemit." Kwôpt kla'ya tq!ē'ɣ^u gagi'ux. Gagiulɣam:
"Aga kwô'pt ayamu'kla. K!wa'txala imikla'mela; na'qxi
itlu'ktiɣ pu amdu'xwa ide'lɣam mani'x mani'x. Ku'ldiɣ
pu aluxwa'xa iakla'mela-iɣ." Qxida'u engi da'uya kla'ya
ilxalqxlaxilit. K!ma cma'nix pu gali'xux isklu'lye pu
20 da'uya wí'gwa ka'nawi can mani'x mani'x qxlū'xt. Qxi'
dau kí'nwa gali'xux isklu'lye. Aga kwô'pt damínwa ga-
lí'xux. Kwôba pla'la gali'xux; tlu' gayu'yam.

¹ This is a Neg Percé that has been borrowed by the Wishram probably in recent times (see Herbert J. Spinden, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 14).

² This myth fitly closes the Coyote cycle, as in it Coyote reaches the farthest point to the east possible, — the home of the Sun, who is conceived as a woman (aga'lax, "sun," is feminine in gender). A widespread myth, of which this seems to be

He said: "Out of that you have become the Nez Percés people." Thus do men say: "Nez Percés are brave warriors, a people made out of blood. They are a dangerous people of warriors."¹

*Coyote and the Sun.*²

Now Coyote is going towards the sun. Then he arrived (there). "Well," he said to the Sun, "it is good that I shall be your slave and that I shall follow you about. I shall work for nothing, you are chieftainess." So she said "Yes" to him. Early next morning the Sun arose. (Wherever) she went, there he also, Coyote, followed her. Oh, dear! he looked on and saw everything.

Early next morning they two went again. Again, as before, he saw various things, — in what various ways people were acting, how women were eloped with, or what was stolen, what bad things (were done), who was killed, — everything Coyote saw. At last he became uneasy. Then he cried out: "I see what you people are doing."

Again he saw them. As before, he cried out again: "I see you." Then she did not want him. She said to him: "Now I shall have taken you with me long enough. You are too mean. It would not be good that you should always tell on people. There would soon be trouble." It is because of this that we do not find everything out. But if Coyote had become (the sun), everybody would to-day be betrayed in his secrets. In this way did Coyote in vain try to become (the sun). And then he gave it up. There he stopped; he had arrived at the end.

a kind of variation, or with which, at any rate, this is related, represents the various animals in council as to who is to be the sun. All are tried, but some objection is found in every case except in that of the one who is now the sun. Coyote also is tried, but is derided for his tale-telling; life would be impossible with him for the sun.

Ikla'n' iskl'u'leye. Qēdau gaq'ux iqa'nutck gā'ngadiḡ
itqlēyó'qtike. Da'uya wigwa klā'ya itqlēyó'qtike.

2. THE SALMON STORY.¹

- Aga kḡwó'pt gałgi'uwaq igu'nat ilcgi'lukc łgwe'nemike
isklu'leye la'ite ipli'cxac. Gałga'gelga aya'kikal iguna't.
5 Sā'q^u galiḡxe'lemux. Gałxu'luktcu ilia'gapt li'x't. Kḡwó'pt
aga gactugwē'lkti. Aga kḡwó'pt da'k gałxu'x. Gału'ya
wimalia'mt. Aga kḡwó'pt gału'xuni yaga'ilpa wí'mał ilga'pt.
Aga kḡwó'pt igu'nat gali'xôx ag' idiałxē'wulx gali'xôx.
Aga kḡwó'pt gali'xôx iaga'il igu'nat.
10 Aga kḡwó'pt gayu'ya ; gatchu'naxlam gałgi'waq la'-itcka
wí'am. Aga gayagu'qxam agagi'lak wi-ixa'tpa. Aga
kḡwó'pt l!a'k gatciux itca'qxuit. Aga kḡwó'pt gala'ktcax :
"Nā'qx' itlu'ktiḡ l!a'k imiux." Gaca'xalqxiḡ. Aga kḡwó'pt
gatchu'łxam : "Aniu'xwa t!ā'ya imi'qxuit atci'nemax a'meni."
15 Aga kḡwó'pt t!ā'ya gatci'ux itca'qxuit. Aga kḡwó'pt ga-
giu'łxam : "Yaxta'ba iskl'u'leye yu'xt ipli'cxac. Kḡwó'dau
yā'xiba ilcgi'lukc gałgi'dwaq ma'ika wí'mam. Iā'xiba
łxí'la-itix ilcgi'lukc łgwe'nemike."

- Aga kḡwó'pt gayu'ya iguna't. Nā'wit gayu'yam iskl'u'-
20 lyaba qa'xba ctu'xt ipli'cxac, watce'łxba ctu'xt. Aga
kḡwó'pt i'wi gatchu'x ilié'kcen igu'nat. Aga kḡwó'pt gac-
ki'm : "Nā'qxi da'pt alidi'a łuxwan klā'ya." Aga kḡwó'pt
gali'clupq iguna't. Gacgige'lkēl. Aga kḡwó'pt gacktea'x
ipli'cxac iskl'u'leye. Galiegu'qxam. Kḡwó'pt gacgi'ulxam.

¹ The Salmon myth of the Wishram presents several striking analogies with that of the Lower Chinook (see Boas, *Chinook Texts*, pp. 60-87). Salmon and Eagle are the two most heroic figures in Wishram mythology, and the deeds

(This is) the story of Coyote. Thuswise did the men of old in ancient days relate the tale. To-day there are no longer (such) men of old.

2. THE SALMON STORY.¹

Now the five wolves and Coyote, they and Skunk killed Salmon. They seized Salmon's wife and ate him all up. One of his eggs dropped down. And then it rained. Then it was loosened up and went on to the river. Now the salmon-egg floated in the Great River.² And then it grew into a salmon and became strong. He became a well-grown Salmon.

And then he went, went to look for those who had killed his father. Then he met a woman in the trail. And then he opened her apron(?). She cried: "It is not good that you have opened it." She wept. And then he said to her: "I shall make beautiful your apron(?) by means of dentalium-shells." And then he made beautiful her apron(?). Then she said to him: "Yonder dwell Coyote and Skunk. And farther yonder are the wolves who have killed your father. Way yonder are dwelling the five wolves."

And then Salmon went. Straightway he arrived at where Coyote and Skunk were dwelling; they were living in an underground lodge. And then Salmon examined his hand. Then they two said: "He will not come as far as this; I think not." Then Salmon went in to them, and they saw him. And then Skunk and Coyote started in crying; he went up to meet them. They spoke to him. Coyote said:

of the former form what is evidently one of the most popular tales of the Chinookan tribes.

² That is, Columbia River.

Gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Qa'ntcix gayu'meqt wi'mam kxwôpt bamā' nuqe'lqt gwā'nesum na'ika isk!u'leye ag' ipli'çac."

"Ag' amanekxe'ktegwaya afa'xit wi'namc aya'faxit gamtgi'dwaq." Gatcage'lga isk!u'leye afa'xit; kxwôpt gatca-
 5 ilut iguna't ia'çan. Gaqa'ilut. E'wi gatcu'xwa; dal.lak.lla'k gala'xôx afa'xit. Aga kxwôpt gatci'ugwilx. Gati'ulçam: "Ak!o'n' a'nid afa'xit wi'nemc ayafa'xit. Qe'negi gama'tx' afa'xit?" Gatca'ilut ak!o'na isk!u'leye iguna't ia'çan; gaqxa'ilut afa'xit. Aga wi'tla dal.lak.lla'k gala-
 10 xôx. Aga kxwôpt wi'tla gatci'ugwilx.

Gaqxa'ilut afa'xit afa'lu'n; e'wi gatcu'xwa; dal.la'k.lla'k gala'xôx afa'xit. Aga kxwôpt wi'tla gatci'ugwilx. Aga kxwôpt gatca'ilut ak!o'n' afa'xit afa'la'kt; e'wi gatcu'xwa; wi'tla da'ukwa dal.lak.lla'k gala'xôx afa'xit. Aga kxwôpt
 15 wi'tla gatciugwi'lx. Aga wi'tla a'ixt ak!o'na gatca'ilut. Gatcage'lga; e'wi gatcu'xwa. Gatcalla'da afa'xit; aga gatcage'lga wi'am ayafa'xit; axk 'a'gatcu'gelaqlk.

Gatcu'lçam: "Gamtgi'dwaq mda'ika wi'nemc; ayafa'xit aga da'uya wig'wa inage'lga." Gaqige'lga isk!u'leye. Aga
 20 kxwôpt gaqi'ulada isk!u'leye gi'gwal wimalia'mt; itpó'quxiamt gaqi'ulada wi'tlax ipli'çac. Qxē'dau gatciu'lçam isk!u'leye: "Ma'ika ag' amgucci'walema isk!u'leye wi'ma'pa." Kxwô'dau ipli'çac wi'tla da'ukwa gatciu'lçam. Qē'dau gali'kim iguna't ia'çan. Ipli'çac aga isk!u'leye qē'dau
 25 gatcu'x cta'xka gacgi'waq wi'am igu'nat. Aga gatccin.kli'mnagwa; qē'dau gatcu'x.

Aga wi'tlax gayu'ya igu'nat ia'çan. Nā'4wit gayu'ya. Aga kxwôpt gatcixtemô'q ilgagi'lak luqxe'lqt. Aga kxwôpt galixlu'çwa-it: "Digutci'ç lka wi'namc da'ua aya'-
 30 kikal o'qxelqt." Aga kxwôpt gayu'ya. Nā'4wit gayu'ya itq'hi'ba. Gagi'u'ket, gagi'u'gulaqlk. Naxlu'çwa-it: "Naik'

“When your father died, ever since then, I, Coyote, have always been weeping, also Skunk.”

“Now you will give back to me the bow, the bow of my father whom you have slain.” Coyote took hold of a bow; then gave it to Salmon’s son. It was given to him, and he turned it about; it broke to pieces. And then (Salmon) beat him and said to him: “Give me another bow, my father’s bow. What have you done with the bow?” Coyote gave Salmon’s son another one. The bow was given to him, but again it broke to pieces. And then again he beat him.

A third bow was given to him. He turned it about, and the bow broke to pieces. And then again he beat him. Then (Coyote) gave him another bow, the fourth. He turned it about; again, as before, the bow broke to pieces. And then again he beat him. Now he gave him still another one. He took it and turned it around. He spanned the bow; now he had gotten his father’s bow; now he recognized it.

He said to the two: “You two have killed my father; now this day I have obtained his bow.” He seized Coyote. And then Coyote was dragged down to the river, while Skunk was thrown up to the mountains. Thus he said to Coyote: “You, Coyote, shall prowl up and down along the river.” And also to Skunk did he speak in similar manner. Thus did speak Salmon’s son. Thus did he treat Skunk and Coyote, two of those who had killed Salmon’s father. Now he had taken revenge for him on them; thus he did with them.

Now Salmon’s son went on again. Straight on he went. And then he heard a woman weeping. Then he thought: “Perhaps this is my father’s wife who is weeping.” And then he went on. Straight on he went into the house. She looked at him and recognized him. She thought:

itegika'l digutci'x İka ya'xan igu'nat gaqxē'doaq; digutci'x
ia'xan." Aga kxwō'pt gagiu'lxam: "İgwe'nemikc itegi-
luke gaqxē'doaq wi'mam. Da'uya dik' itq'ē'ba İki'xax
İxē'la-itix. Kwaic ałdı'mama." Aga kxwō'pt gayu'fait
5 itq'ē'ba; 'E'x gali'xōx iq'ē'yōqt.

Aga kxwō'pt İ'xt gayu'yam icgi'lukc itq'ē'ba. Gali'-
kim icgi'lukc: "He'mm, igu'nad ia'q'tckc." Aga kxwō'pt
galixige'lctim. Aga kxwō'pt iq'ē'yō'qt gayu'fa'daxelitİmtek.
Aga kxwō'pt gagiu'lxam icgi'lukc agagi'lak: "İmie'qcix
10 ya'xtau iq'ē'yōqt na'İka wi'nemc. P!a'l' İxa." İku'na İ'xt ga-
yu'yam aga wi't!ax gali'kim: "He'mm, iguna'd ia'q'tckc."
Aga kxwō'pt galixige'lctim. Aga kxwō'pt iq'ē'yōqt gayu-
la'daxelitİmtek. Gagiu'lxam: "P!a'l' İxa iq'ē'yōqt na'İka
wi'nemc imie'qcix."

15 Wi't!a İku'na İxt gayu'yam icgi'lukc. Wi't!a da'ukwa
gatci'ux. Gagiu'lxam: "İmie'qcix ya'xtau na'İka wi'nemc.
P!a'l' İxa." İhala'kt icgi'lukc gayu'yam. Wi't!a da'ukwa
gatci'ux. Gatciut!ē'walalemtek iq'ē'yōqt. Agagiu'lxam:
"P!a'l' İxa. İmie'qcix ya'xtau na'İka wi'nemc." Axa wi't!a
20 İxgō'qenkt icgi'lukc gayu'yam; aga sā'qx" gayu'yam. Aga
t!ayā' gatskİsk!lu'tk iq'ē'yōqt.

Aga kxwō'pt gaıgu'lxam agagi'lak İgwe'nemikc itegi'lukc
a'xka İga'xalukc, — İga'gikal kanamİgwe'nemikc itegi'lukc,
— "Ag' amiulxa'ma wi'mam iq'ē'yōqt, aga itga'matcx atc-
25 dintclu'xa intca'qcix." Aga kxwō'pt gagiu'lxam iq'ē'yōqt:
"Aga amdu'xwa itga'matcx da'u!a-ite İgwe'nemikc." — "Ä'İ,"
gali'kim, "andu'xwa." Gaıu'qxwui. Ka'dux; aga kxwō'pt
gatcu'x iq'ē'yōqt itga'matcx; İ!a'qcix İcgi'lukc agatcu'x.

A'İxt La'q" gatcu'xwa; wi't!a a'İxt La'q" gatcu'xwa;
30 wi't!ax a'İxt La'q" gatcu'xw' a!a!u'n; wi't!ax a'İxt La'q"

“Perhaps it is the son of my husband Salmon who was slain; perhaps it is his son.” And then she said to him: “Your father was slain by five wolves. In this very house they are (to be found; here) they dwell. They will come presently.” Then he sat down in the house and transformed himself into an old man.

And then one of the wolves arrived in the house. The wolf said: “He’mm, there is a smell of salmon.” And then he violently pushed against him, and the old man staggered to and fro. Then the woman said to the wolf: “That old man is your father-in-law and my father. Let him alone.” Another one came and also said: “He’mm, there is a smell of salmon.” And then he violently pushed against him, and the old man staggered to and fro. She said to him: “Let the old man alone, he is my father and your father-in-law.”

Still one other wolf arrived. Also he treated him likewise. She said to him: “That is your father-in-law and my father. Let him alone.” The fourth wolf arrived. Also he treated him thus; he pushed the old man about. Then she said: “Let him alone. That is your father-in-law and my father.” Now also the eldest wolf arrived; now they had all arrived. Then the old man took a good look at them.

And then the five wolves said to the woman, her whose men they were, — all the five wolves were her husbands, — “Now you will tell the old man, your father; now let our father-in-law make arrows for us.” Then she said to the old man: “Now you will make arrows for these five.” — “Yes,” he said, “I shall make them.” They slept over night. It was morning and then the old man made the arrows; their (supposed) father-in-law made them.

He took out one (arrow); yet one (arrow) he took out; yet a third one he took out; yet a fourth one

gatu'xw' alala'kt; aga wi'tlax a'-ix't laq^u gatu'xwa ala-
 gwe'nema. Gatetu'kl gwe'nema itga'matex ba'ma la'-itcka
 a'lem' atcludi'na. Aga kxwó'pt galu'qxui. Gayutcu'ktix;
 gatclu'kwalqk. Aga kxwó'pt gatclu't idga'matex. Aga
 5 kxwó'pt sa'q^u galixelxada'midagwa. Aga la'-ite itegi'lukc
 aga wi'tla galxk!oa' ka'dux. Aga kxwó'pt gayu'pa. Aga
 kxwó'pt i'wi i'wi gati'uxix sa'q^u wi'l^x igu'nat. Aga gali'-
 kim, qe'dau galixlu'xwa-it: "Aga da'uya wi'gwa anludi'-
 naya itegi'lukc wi'nemc galgi'dwôq."

10 Aga kxwó'pt iteqoa' ^{e'x} gatu'x. Ga'lupa aga'fax;
 galixli'x; epa'k aga'fax gala'xôx. Aga kxwó'pt sa'q^u
 galxca'q iteqoa'. Klā'ya iteqoa'. Aga kxwó'pt gatu'x
 iteqoa' igu'nad li'xtka itpoqô'xba; Waxca'mba¹ lqu'ct ga-
 tclu'x iteqoa'. Sa'q^u datsma'nix li'xtka iteqoa' gatu'x
 15 igu'nat. Aga kxwó'pt gali'lxac' icgi'lukc. Aga kxwó'pt
 ke'nua gayu'ya i'xtbô wi'qał. Klā'y' iteqoa' gatclge'lga;
 ixca'q^u wi'qał. Aga kxwó'pt gatclge'lkel iteqoa' icgi'lukc.
 Ag' ilxe'cet; kxwó'pt gayu'ya iteqoa'ba.

Aga kxwó'pt iguna't gatetô'x idaga'itsax itkla'munak
 20 tslu'nus itlô'xatek; qloa'p iteqoa' gatu'x. Aga kxwó'pt
 tlayā' gayu'la-it itlô'xatekba iguna't qloa'p iteqoa'ba. Aga
 kxwó'pt gayu'ya icgi'lukc; gatclge'lkel iteqoa'; gayu'-
 yanā'zwit iteqoa'ba; gatclugu'mctem iteqoa' icgi'lukc;
 kxwó'pt gatclô'qxumct. ^{e'x} gatu'x iguna'd iteqoa'.
 25 Aga kxwó'pt man(g) gi'gwal galxu'x iteqoa'; a-ilā'u isi'a-
 xus gasxô'x. Aga kxwó'pt ia'maq gati'lux icgi'lukc.
 Galixi'maxit icgi'lukc; gayu'meqt. Aga kxwó'pt gatclge'lga
 iguna't icgi'lukc. Gati'waq, gati'ulada.

¹ Wa'xcam is on Yakima Reservation, four miles east of a point about midway

he took out; and one (arrow) besides, the fifth, he took out. He took with him the five arrows in order that he might kill them. And then they slept over night. Daylight came, and he finished the (arrows). And then he gave the arrows to (the wolves). Then he transformed himself back entirely to his original form. Now the wolves came back home in the morning, and he went out of the house. And then Salmon looked all over the land. [He said,] thus he thought: "Now this day I shall kill the wolves who have slain my father."

And then he exercised his magic power upon the water. The sun rose and it became warm; the sun shone strong. Then all the water dried up. There was no water to be found. And then Salmon made just one spring of water among the mountains; at Wa'xcam,¹ indeed, he made the water. Just one spring of water Salmon made, plainly seen by all. Now, then one of the wolves became thirsty. So he went to a certain small river to quench his thirst, but in vain. He did not get any water; the river was dried up. And then the wolf caught sight of the water (that Salmon had made). Now he was thirsty, so he went to the water.

And then Salmon made some small trees, a few bushes; near to the water he made them. Then Salmon sat down well prepared in the bushes near to the water. Now the wolf went on and saw the water. Straight on to the spring he went. The wolf went to drink the water; then started in drinking it. Salmon exercised his magic power upon the water. So then the water sank down a little, and the wolf's eyes just disappeared from view. Then he shot at the wolf, and the wolf fell down; he was dead. And then Salmon took hold of the wolf. He had killed him, and threw him away.

between Fort Simcoe and Block House.

Wí'tla gayu'ya kxwô'ba; gayu'la-it iguna't. Sa'q^u gací'waq, gatciula'da. Wí'tla iklu'na í'xt gayu'ya icgí'lukc ilteqoa'ba. Aga wí'tlax gatcló'qxemct. Aga wí'tla ya'maq gatcí'lux. Klu'na í'xt wí'tla gayu'maqt icgí'lukc. Wí'tla
 5 gatcí'gē'lga; gatciula'da. Wí'tla klu'na í'xt gayu'ya icgí'lukc ila'lu'n ilteqoa'yamt. Wí'tla gatcló'qxemct. Wí'tla ya'maq gatcí'lux; gatcí'waq. Gacige'lga; gatciulada. Wí'tla klu'na í'xt gayu'ya icgí'lukc ilala'kt ilteqoa'yamt. Gatcló'qxemct. Wí'tla ya'maq gatcí'lut iguna't. Gatcí'waq;
 10 gatcige'lga; gatciula'da.

Iaga'its ixk!e'skax icgí'lukc wí'tla gayu'ya ilteqoa'yamt. Gayu'yam ilteqoa'ba. Nā'qxi gatclu'qxumct. Kē'nua galixlu'xwa-it igu'nat: "Atcluge'mcta." Klā'ya gatclu'gemct ixk!e'skax icgí'lukc. Aga kxwô'pt gali'ktcax: "Ū'6;"
 15 qē'dau gali'xôx ixk!e'skax. Aga kxwô'pt iguna't galixlu'xwa-it: "Nā'qx' itlu'ktix." Itkla'munakiamt gayu'yam icgí'lukc. Aga gatclu'dina lla'ktike iguna't ia'xan; la'itcka galgí'waq wí'am iguna't. Pu gatclu'dina ka'nauwē lǵwe'nemike pu klā'ya ilcgí'lukc da'uya wí'gwa; klma lla'ktike
 20 gatclu'dina, í'xt ni'xwô'a'xit ixk!e'skax ila'-u'xix.

Aga kxwô'pt gayu'ya itq^ulia'mt iguna't qa'xba a'yagutx u'xt. Aga kxwô'pt gayu'yam itq^uhí'ba. Kxwô'pt gatcu'l-xam: "Aga inlu'dina ilcgí'lukc lla'ktike; i'xa'tk' ixk!e'skax icgí'lukc igixwô'a'xit." Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'l-xam agagi'lak:
 25 "Ag' atxk!wa'ya." Aga kxwô'pt gactu'ya; aga gatcu'kla. Luwa'n qa'uadi'x gactu'gôyôm, aga kxwô'pt gatcaxí'ma, gatsaltsgí'ma iguna't agagi'lak. Itkla'ckac la'luxt; quctí'axa ilcgí'lukc itcawa'nba.

Aga kxwô'pt gayaktxui't. Aga kxwô'pt galagelga'ba
 30 ilak!a'its itsk!í'lukc lí'x't. Wí'tla gaya'ktxuit itca'wanba;

He went back to his place; Salmon seated himself. He had killed him completely and thrown him away. Again one other wolf went to the water. Now he also started in to drink it, and again (Salmon) shot at him. Again one other wolf died. Again he took hold of him and threw him away. Again one other wolf, the third, went towards the water. He also started in to drink it. Again (Salmon) shot at him and killed him. He took hold of him and threw him away. Again one other wolf, the fourth, went towards the water. He started in to drink it, and again Salmon shot at him. He killed him, took hold of him, and threw him away.

The smallest and youngest wolf also went towards the water. He arrived at the water, but did not drink of it. Salmon thought: "He will drink of it," but in vain. The youngest wolf did not drink at all. And then he cried: "Ū6;" thus did the youngest do. And then Salmon thought: "It is not well." The wolf escaped to the woods. Now Salmon's son has killed four (wolves); they had slain his father Salmon. If he had slain all five, there would be no wolves to-day; but he killed (only) four, (for) one had been scared away, their youngest brother.

And then Salmon went to the house where his step-mother was living. Then he arrived at the house, and said to her: "Now I have slain four of the wolves; only one, the youngest wolf, was scared away." And then he said to the woman: "Now let us two go home." Then the two went on; he took her along with him. I do not know how many times they camped over night when he laid her down, Salmon laid the woman down belly up. There was a child inside of her; as it turned out, there were wolves in her womb.

And then he stepped on her; one tiny little wolf came out of her. Again he stepped on her belly; a tiny wolf

gaḷage'lba itcawani'amt iṣk!i'luku. Da'ukwa ḷgwe'nema
 iḷak!a'itsax gaḷa'ge'lba. Aga kḡwô'pt gatclu'dina iḷak!a'i-
 tsax. Kḡwô'ba i'wi gatcu'x watu'ḷ, kḡwô'ba gatclu'x wa-
 tu'ḷpa. Qxi'dau ga'lixôx iguna't. Aga kḡwô'pt gactu'ya.
 5 Kḡwô'pt aga gatcu'kḷ' agagi'lak wi'am a'gikal. Da'uax
 atk!u'ntklun, qxuct gaqxi'waq itca'gikal iguna't. Atk!u'n-

tk!un uqxe'lqt:  gwā'neSEM. Cma'-

nix alidí'mama iguna't aqxē'dwagwa Niḷlu'idixpa; aga
 kḡwô'pt alaktca'xema atk!u'ntklun.

- 10 Nā'2wit gatcu'kḷa, nā'wid itcqô'ba gatcu'kḷam. Aga
 kḡwô'pt gacgige'lg' ikni'm, gacti'kḷa-it. Aga kḡwô'pt ga-
 tcu'lxam: "Ag' anugopti'da, aga ma'im' amqḷi'wategwa."
 Iguna't galí'kim: "Ag'.anxu'qcida; aga ma'ima agagi'lak
 amqḷi'wategwa." Aga kḡwô'pt galixô'qcit. Gactu'xuni
 15 itcqô'ba yē'ḷqdiḡ. Aga kḡwô'pt itka'pca hi'xḷiḡ gala'xux.
 Aga kḡwô'pt i'wi gala'xux; wi'mwa gagige'lg'a itka'pca.
 Aga kḡwô'pt i'wi gagi'ux; gagage'lkel wa'mw' a-ik!i'ḷ-
 xēugwax ya'ḷqpa. Gacaxelqxí'lx agagi'lak. Aga kḡwô'pt
 galixgu'itq.

- 20 Aga kḡwô'pt galí'kim: "Nā'qx' it!u'ktix imnu'qutck,
 q!u'm imnux." Aga kḡwô'pt gatcige'lg' icki', gatcia'x-
 cgam. Itkla'lamat ē'wi gatctô'x; gatctige'ldi'ba-iḡ itkla'la-
 mat; daLxoā'b galu'xax itkla'munak. Kḡu'ḷ gatcié'lux
 icki'. Aga kḡwô'pt gatca'gelg' agagi'lak. E'wi icki' 'ngi
 25 gatcu'ḷada itkla'lamatba. Aga kḡwô'pt gayage'ltaqlq aga-
 gi'lak; ma'sa galí'xôx q!u'mba gagi'ux iguna't. Aga
 kḡwô'pt gayu'y' igu'nat aga ya'ima. Aga kḡwô'pt ia'ḷ-
 qdiḡ gayu'ya, iā'xi aga gayu'ya.

- Aga kḡwô'ba p!ā'la gayu'ḷa-it; ḷuwan qxa'uad iḷe'lx,
 30 qa'ntcipt aga ya'ḷqdiḡ gayu'ḷa-it. Aga kḡwô'pt gatcex-

came out from her belly. In this way five little (wolves) came out of her. Then he killed the little (wolves). There he built(?) a fire, there in the fire he put them. Thus did Salmon. And then they two went on; he took with him the woman, his father's wife. This woman was the Dove; truly it was her husband Salmon who had been killed. The Dove is always wailing: "Ū' ū'." Whenever the salmon comes, they kill him at Wishram, and then the Dove cries.

Straight on he went with her, straightway he came with her to some water. And then they got hold of a canoe and seated themselves in it. Then he said to her: "Now I'll sleep, while you alone will paddle." Salmon said: "Now I'll lie down to sleep, while you, woman, will paddle alone." And then he lay down to sleep. The two long drifted about on the water. And then she began to feel ticklish in her feet. Then she looked and found a maggot on her feet. And then she looked carefully at him, and saw maggots crawling about all over his body. The woman cried, and he awoke.

And then he said: "It is not good that you have awakened me; you have disturbed me in my sleep." Then he got hold of the paddle, took it away from her. He transformed the rocks and hollowed out the rocks; the rocks had a hole bored into them. He wedged the paddle under her and took hold of the woman. He moved it and threw her off with the paddle into the rocks. Then he abandoned the woman; he had been disgraced because she disturbed him in his sleep. So then Salmon went on all alone. Long he went, and far away he went.

Now, there he remained quietly; I know not how many years, how long he remained. Now, then he heard two

tcmô'q icq!ē'yôqt: "Imimela'mak; nā'qx' itlu'kti. A'nadmax amelu'ktan atgu'xwa. Nā nexlu'xwan kxwô'dau i'nadmax iqxu't. Kxwô'dau a'nadmax wô'qti atgu'xwa." Qē'dau gatciu'lxam: "Aga du'xi. Na'ima ansge'lga isqxu's." Gatciu'lxam: "Nā'qxi pu ma'-ima amsgē'lga. A'nadmax atgsu'xwa hā'-ai." La'ktiḡ gatecxtcmô'q qē'dau cxi'tex, cxe!p!a'lawulal. Qucti'axa icka'lax cda'xdau.

Aga kxwô'pt gatecu'lxam: "Qē'negi mtxu'lal? Dan imtxē'lk^uhilal?" Klā'ya qē'negi gacgiu'lxam. Aga wi'tla 10 gacxe!p!a'lawulalemtek; galixacge!u'itcatk. Aga wi'tla da'ukwa gacki'm. Aga wi'tla gatecu'lxam: "Da'naska mdi'xitex? Na'itla mtgē'nLxam."¹ Wi'tla klā'ya qē'negi gacki'm. Cpa'q ts!u'm cki'xax. Wi'tla gatecu'lxam: "Qē'negi dan imtxē'lk^uhilal?" Wi'tla klā'ya qē'negi gacki'm. 15 Aga wi'tla da'ukwa gacxe!p!a'lawulalemtek. Witla gatecu'lxam: "Qē'negi dan imtxē'lk^uhilal?" Aga kxwô'pt gacgiu'lxam: "Iḡgoa'filx nintkḡi'tka."

Aga kxwô'pt gatecu'lxam: "Qa'xba nintkḡi'tga iḡgoa'filx?" Aga kxwô'pt gacgiu'lxam: "Ya!qdi'x nintkḡi'tga." 20 Aga kxwô'pt gatecu'lxam: "Qē'negiba nintkḡi'tga?" Gacgiu'lxam: "Klā'ya! itkla'lamatba nintkḡi'tga." Aga kxwô'pt gatecu'lxam: "Dan iaka'xtau iḡgoa'filx, iḡqagi'lak tei^e a'watei^e iḡka'la tei^e?" Gacgiu'lxam: "Iḡqagi'lak." — "Qa'ntcix ni'mtkḡqemitei?" Aga kxwô'pt gacgiu'lxam: 25 "Da'uax akḡmi'n nigaxa'lxum wi'tlax a'-ixt akḡmi'n ak!un (t)ci'tiḡ nintkḡi'tga." Aga kxwô'pt nixlu'xwait: "Luwa'n ga'nuid nilkgei'tka iḡgoa'filx."

¹ Mtgē'nLxam is for mtgē'ntlxam.

old people (talking to each other): "You are a bad distributor, and not good. Let us two put a cheek on each side. I myself think there should be also an eye to each side. And let us put half a vulva on each side." Thus did the one say to the other: "Oh, well! I shall take both eyes for myself." The other one said to him: "You should not take both to yourself. We two must divide them, — one to each." Four times did he hear the two thus argue and talk to each other. As it turned out, those two were ravens.

And then he said to them: "What are you talking about? What are you speaking of to each other?" They said nothing at all to him. Now they still kept talking to each other, and he listened to them. Now they spoke again as before. And once more he said to them: "Well, what are you talking to each other about? Tell me too!" Again they said nothing at all. They were arguing excitedly. Again he said to them: "What are you telling each other?" Again they said nothing at all. And then again they kept talking to each other as before. Again he said to them: "What are you telling each other?" And then they said to him: "We two have found a person."

Then he said to them: "Where did you find the person?" They answered him: "Far away (from here) we found him." And then he said to them: "In what way did you come to get him?" They replied to him: "No! we found him among some rocks." Then he said to them: "What is that same person, a woman or a man?" They said to him: "A woman." — "How long is it since you have seen her?" And then they said to him: "Let this present moon have become exhausted (and add) yet one moon and a half, — (so long is it since) we have found her." And then he thought: "Perhaps they have really found a person."

Aga kxwó'pt gatccu'lxam: "A'lema ka'dux amdu'ya, amtklukta'ma." Aga kxwó'pt gatccu'lxam: "Qengiska' gamdu'yem?" Aga kxwó'pt 'E'x gací'ux iagó'meni'pa ikxa'lal. Aga kxwó'pt gatccu'lxam: "Q'engi gamtxu'lal gamdu'yem?" Aga kxwó'pt gatextcmô'q aga gacxixní'ma. Aga kxwó'pt gactilga'wulx igu'cax. Aga kxwó'pt ikxa'lal gali'ci'lakwit. Aga kxwó'pt qxatgi' nuit wí'lx q!oa'p gacti-ila'kwit; ia'xka 'E'x gatccu'x igu'nat icka'lax.

Aga kxwó'pt gacgu'naxlx; gacgu'kctam qa'xba gacga-
 10 ge'lkelba. Aga gactu'ya. Nā'4wit luwa'n qa'uadix: gactu'-
 qxui. Aga kxwó'pt gactu'yam wí'tla. Aga gacx'k!wa'
 wí'tla itq'lia'mt. Aga gacgiu'lxam: "Eá'xt ilgoa'ililx q!ōa'b
 ag' alu'meqt' aga lu!E'lxt." Gatccu'lxam: "Q'engi
 p' amtklu'xwa?" Kxwó'pt gali'kim í'xat: "K!a'la p' ant-
 15 ktxa'." Aga kxwó'pt gatccu'lxam: "Ak!a'lamat ayamt-
 kxa'imaya." Ā'u gacgi'ux.

Aga kxwó'pt kE'L gacgu'xix itcta'piq. Aga kxwó'pt
 gatcackxa'-ima mang itsak!a'its. Gacgugwó'mit; gacgu'-
 kłam; da'k gatea'cxux. Aga mang itcaga'il gatcackxa'-
 20 ima. Aga wí'tla gacku'kł; ag' ackxa'-imat p!ā'l' ak!a'la-
 mat. Wí'tla gacgu'kłam; gacxiluxta'makwôtégix. Wí-
 tlax da'k gatea'cxux. Wí'tla da'ukwa la'ktix. E'agwe'ne-
 mix wí'tlax gatcackxa'-ima. Wí'tla gacgugó'mida-ulx,
 gacguktea'nemx, gacga'ilukłam.

25 Aga gatccu'lxam: "Aga na'ikabam' amtkłní'dama ilqa-
 gi'lak." Aga kxwó'pt gacgiu'lxam: "K!ā'ya!" Aga

Then he said to them: "To-morrow you two will go, you'll go and look for her." And he asked them: "Well, how have you been going all along?" Then in his heart he wished for a wind, and it arose. And he asked them: "How have you been managing to go all along?" And then he heard them as they showed him (how they managed). They flew up to the sky, but then the wind struck against them; and then almost immediately they came near striking down against the ground. (But) he, Salmon, endowed the two ravens with magic power.

And then they looked for her; they went to look for her where they had seen her. Now they went on. Straight on (they went, and) I know not how many times they slept over night. And then they arrived (there) again. Then they turned back home towards the house. They said to him: "There is a person who is near to dying and is thinned out." He said to them: "What could you do with her?" Then one of them said: "We might carry her on our backs." And then he said to them: "I shall lay down a stone on you." They said "Yes" to him.

And then they interlocked their wings, and he put down on them a rather small (stone). They flew off with it and came back with it; and he loosened it off from them. Then he put a somewhat larger (stone) on them. And again they carried it with them, and the stone rested quietly on them. Again they came back with it, swaying their bodies from side to side. Again he loosened off the (stone) from them. Again (they did) as before, four times in all. The fifth time also he put a (stone) on them. Again they flew up with it, carried it about with them, and brought it back to him.

Then he said to them: "Now for my sake you will go and get me the woman." And then they answered

kɣwô'pt gatecu'lɣam: "Amtkɫugwa'lemama bama na'ika."
 Qē'dau gatecu'lɣam icka'lax igu'nat. Qucti'axa ya'xtau
 igu'nat ya'xka gatcaxi'ma a'xtau agagi'lak; tq!é'x aga
 tcu'xt. Aga ā' gacxu'x. "Ag' aqa'midam' āgagi'lak," gac-
 5 giu'lɣam. Aga kɣwô'pt gactu'ya, gacgugwa'lemam. Nā'4-
 wit gactu'ya; nā'wit gacta'guqxôm. Klwa'c galaxa'cxux;
 galaxlu'xwait: "Ag' icki'nuwôq." Aga kɣwô'pt gacgu'l-
 ɣam: "Nā'qxi klwa'c amxu'xwa; iqemtga'lemam."

A'-u gaɣcu'x. "Qxa'damt amtgenu'kɫa?" gacgu'lɣam.
 10 Aga kɣwô'pt gacgu'lɣam: "Indacta'mɣiamt aqemu'kɫa."
 Aga kɣwô'pt gacgu'lɣam: "Qē'neg' amtgenu'xwa?" Gac-
 gu'lɣam: "Ag' amxantkxa'imaya indagikô'uba." Aga
 kɣwô'pt a-ikwā'ɫ gacgu'xiɣ itcda'piq; kɣwô'ba naxackxa'-
 ima itctapi'qba. Aga kɣwô'pt gacge'lga.

15 Aga kɣwô'pt gaɫu'ya; gacku'kɫ. Nā'4wit gacku'kɫam
 itq'hi'ba. Nā'wit gacgaxi'ma. Klā'ya dan itcana'ɫxat ag'
 ulɫe'lɣt gacgu'kɫem. Aga kɣwô'pt gatɫge'lg' igu'nad ila-
 ka'tɫa. Aga kɣwô'pt wa'x gatɫa'kux ilka'tɫa. Gwe'ne-
 mix' wa'x gatɫa'kux. Aga kɣwô'pt sā'q^u gatcalɣa'dagwa.

20 Ag' atlu'kti gala'xux sa'q^u. Iɫga'naɫxat gaɫaqlɫe'lba;
 sa'q^u itlu'kt' itca'lq. Axka'xdau itca'xliu atk!u'ntk!un igu'-
 nat ā'gikal. "Mda'itla," gatecu'lɣam, "dēni'2nua imda'x-
 liu icka'lax; qē'dau amtxu'xwa mda'itla. Cma'nix amtxu'-
 xwa 'Ka'k ka'k,'¹ alugwagi'ma ide'lɣam, 'Dang' icgige'lkel
 25 icka'lax, da'ngi qxa'tgi.'" Qē'dau iqxa'nutck.

¹ Very high pitch.

him: "No!" Then he said to them: "You will go to get her for me." Thus did Salmon speak to the two ravens. In truth that Salmon it was who had laid down that woman; now he wanted her. Then they consented. "Now we shall go and get you the woman," they said to him. And then they went, went to get her. Straight on they went and straightway they came to her. She was afraid of them and thought: "Now they have killed me." But then they said to her: "Do not be afraid; we have come for you.

She consented to their proposal. "Whither will you take me?" she asked of them. And then they said to her: "We shall carry you to our chief." Then she said to them: "What will you do with me (so as to carry me):" They answered her: "You will lay yourself down on our back." And then they neatly interlocked their wings; there on their wings she lay down. So then they took hold of her.

And then they went on, the two bearing her along. Straight on (they went and) brought her home into the house. Straightway they put her down. She had no hair (left) at all and they brought her home lean. And then Salmon took some oil. Then he poured the oil out over her. Five times he poured it out over her and she came to completely.

Now she was beautiful all over. Her hair grew out from her and her body was beautiful in every way. The name of that same woman was Dove, Salmon's wife. "As for you two," he said to the two (ravens), "your name (shall be) for all time Raven; thus shall *you* be. Whenever you shall cry "ka'k ka'k," people will say: 'The two ravens have seen something, no doubt.' " Thus the tale.

3. COYOTE AND ANTELOPE.

Coyote went on. Now then Coyote heard that way yonder people were gathered together. In truth they came to get a shinny-ball. So then Coyote's children and Antelope's two sons went. They seven went for the shinny-ball, went to where people were assembled. They arrived (there). The name of one of Coyote's sons was Big-Gristle; (another) one's name was Big-Backbone; another one of Coyotes sons (was named) Big-Fin; another one's name was Big-Adipose-Fin; there was one other, a daughter of Coyote and the youngest, whose name was Head-Fat — she was a good runner. And there were Antelope's two sons — those two were clumsy ones.

Now they went where the shinny-ball was; they had come in order to run away with it. They arrived and saw many people. There were Rabbit and Fox, both of them fast runners. And then the shinny-ball was given to Big-Gristle, the oldest. He took it in his hand and ran away with the shinny-ball. Then Rabbit and Fox pursued him and gained on him. And then they seized him; they had overtaken him. They killed him and took the shinny-ball away from him.

Now they brought the shinny-ball back again. Again they put it in the (next) one's hands; Big-Backbone got hold of it. He ran away with the shinny-ball and again Fox and Rabbit pursued him. They ran after him and he ran away from them. They overtook him and killed him, cutting off his head. Now this time the shinny-ball was given to Big-Fin. He also ran away with the shinny-ball and again the two ran after him, overtook him, and seized him. They killed him, cutting his neck. Next they gave the (ball) to Big-Adipose-Fin. Now he also ran away with it and again Rabbit and Fox ran after him.

3. COYOTE AND ANTELOPE.

Gayu'ya iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwó'pt galixe'ltemaq iskl'u'-
 leye yā'xiba uxwó'qt ide'lxam. Quctia'xa ick!a'lkal gaq-
 cu'klam. Aga kxwó'pt gaľu'ya iskl'u'leye ya'qxóq kxwó'dau
 icpu'xyatin icya'xan ctmó'ket. Gaľu'ya łtsınmó'kstike ła'-ite
 5 ick!a'lkaliamt; gaľxe'lxaq. Gaľu'yam. Ixa'd ia'xleu Sipa'-
 glatsin ia'xan iskl'u'leye; ixa'd ia'xleu Sipa'ksalguts; ik!u'n'
 ixa'd iskl'u'leye ia'xan Sapa'gwinan; ik!u'n' ixa'd ia'xleu
 Sapaga'tk^utgwax; ak!u'n' a'-ixad itca'xleu aya'xan iskl'u'-
 leye axk!e'skax Stwá'winLxt itsaq!wa'lasup; kxwó'dau
 10 ctmó'ket icpu'xyatin icya'xan itctaba-icxi'lal cta'xta.

Gaľu'y' aga ick!a'lkalba; gaľkuda'mitam ick!a'lkal.
 Gaľu'yam gaľku'gikel łgablá'd ide'lxam. Kxwó'ba cki'xax
 ila'lik kxwó'dau ida'uapdauap ctmóket istlaq!wa'lasup.
 Aga kxwó'pt gaqci'lut ick!a'lkal Sapa'galatsin ixgó'qunk.
 15 Iliá'kcenba gatecge'lga. Aga kxwó'pt gateccu'damit ick!a'l-
 kal. Aga gacgi'wa ila'lik k!m' ag' ida'uapdauap; gacti'k-
 taq. Aga kxwó'pt gacgige'lga; gacti'kdaqxwóm. Gacgi'-
 waq. Gackci'xckem ick!a'lkal.

Aga' wit!a lu'g^u gackcu'x ick!a'lkal. Wít!a gackci'lut
 20 ifié'kcenba; gatecge'lga Sapa'ksalguts. Gateccu'damit ic-
 k!a'lkal. Aga' wit!a gacgi'wa ida'uapdauap ila'lèk. Ga-
 cti'ktaq; galicge'ltaqł. Gacti'ktaqxóm. Gacgi'waq; Lq!ó'p
 gacgiu'x iaga'qstaq. Aga' wit!ax gaqci'lut ick!a'lkal Sapa'-
 gwinan. Wít!a gateccuda'mit ick!a'lkal. Aga wít!a gac-
 25 ti'ktaq; gacti'ktaqxóm; gacgige'lga. Gacgi'waq; Lq!ó'p
 gacgi'ux ié'tuk. Wít!a gackci'lut Sapaga'tk^utgwax. Aga
 wít!a gateccuda'mit. Aga wít!a gacti'ktaq ila'lik k!ma
 ida'uapdaup. Gacgige'lga. Gacgi'waq; Lq!ó'p gacgi'ux
 ia'tuk. Aga gaqcè'lut Stwá'winLx iskl'u'leye aya'xan wa'liq

itga'kcenba. Aga kxw'opt gacuda'mit ick!a'lkal. Aga kxw'opt gacta'ktaq. Aga kxw'opt galacge'ltaqł. Gacgu'a; gacga'gelga. Gacgu'aq; ıq!o'p gacgi'axux itca'tuk.

Sā'q^u gałxła'-it isk!u'leye ia'qxôq łgwe'nemike; sā'q^u gaq-
 5 lu'dina; klā'ya galkege'lga ick!a'lkal. Aga kxw'opt cta'xta icpu'xyatin icya'xan gaqecclut ick!a'lkal cta'xta itcta'kcenba. Kxw'opt gacxe'lekteu; ki'nua gackege'lga. Aga kxw'opt galugwa'kim: "Ag' aqcwa'gwa di'kxa." Aga kxw'opt galki'm: "Ag' aqcu'kla yaxta'ba; aqcwa'gwa mang i'axi."
 10 Aga kxw'opt gaqcu'kl mang i'axi. Aga kxw'opt xa'p dagapga'p galxô'x illa'. Aga kw'opt galu'gwakim: "Da'uya ag' inige'lga, itgi'lx."

Aga qucti'axa gackcudamit icpu'xia'tin icya'xan; ick!a'lkal gackcudamit. Qucti'axa cda'xtau, ictla'mimen. Aga
 15 kxw'opt gackcu'kl icpu'xiatin icya'xan. Aga kxw'opt klā'ya gackcu'a ila'lik ida'uapdauap. Gackcu'ket; gackege'lkel ag' ia'łqdix ckeu'kkt ick!a'lkal. Aga itpo'gomax icda'bagal łacgwu'łxt; exella'dnił ick!a'lkal. A-itcxā'p gacxı'luxix ila'lêk klma ida'uapdauap; ag' iè'łqdix ctu'it; ckeu'kkt.
 20 Icta'xtax isk!u'leye kxw'odau icpu'xyatin itq^uli'ba plā'la ctu'xt. Aga kxw'opt gacglu'ma:

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a 3/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written on a treble clef. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Dō - yax - kā nin - dał - qxılq ĩ - t'la - lā - pas
 yā - qxôq; sāq^u niqł - di - na.

Aga kxw'opt wi'tla gacglu'ma: "Dō'yaxkā ninteā'cqıılq

They seized him and killed him, cutting his neck. Now the (ball) was put into the hand of Head-Fat, Coyote's daughter, a maiden. And then she ran away with the shinny-ball. Then the two ran after her and she ran away from them. They pursued her and caught her. They killed her, cutting off her neck.

All the five children of Coyote had died; they had all been killed and had not held on to the shinny-ball. Now then those two sons of Antelope were given the shinny-ball, (it was put) into the hands of those two. Then they dropped it; they did not succeed in holding on to the (ball). And then the people said: "Now they will be killed here." Then they said: "Now they will be brought right there; they will be killed a little farther on." And then they were brought a little farther on. Then the fog became dark, all misty dark. And then they (all) said: "Now here I've caught him, hit him!"

Now in fact Antelope's two sons ran away with it; they ran away with the shinny-ball. Truly that (ball) was worth a chieftain's realm. Now then the two sons of Antelope took it along with them, but Rabbit and Fox did not pursue them. They looked at them and saw them now far off taking the shinny-ball along with them. Now they climb up to two summits of the mountains and keep throwing the shinny-ball between them. Rabbit and Fox gave up (following); they had now gone far off and had the (ball) with them.

Those two people — Coyote and Antelope — were sitting quietly in the house. Now then the two (sons of Antelope) sang out: "Far away we two have left the children of Coyote; killed were they all." And then they sang out again: "Far away have we left the two sons of Antelope; slain were the two." And then they sang out again: "All were they killed, the children of Coyote;

icpu'ya'tin icyā'xan; sā'q^u niqci'dwôq."¹ Aga kxwô'pt wi'tla gacglu'ma: "Sā'q^u niqdi'na it!alā'pas yā'qxôq; dō'yaxkā nindā'tqxilq."¹ Aga kxwô'pt wi'tla gacglu'ma: "Sā'q^u niqci'dwôq icpu'ya'tin icyā'xan; dō'yaxkā nintcā'-
5 cqxilq."¹ Aga kxwô'pt wi'tla gacglu'ma: "Dō'yaxkā nindā'tqxilq it!alā'pas yā'qxôq; sā'q^u niqdi'na."¹

Nā'wit gactu'ya. Aga kxwô'pt iskl'u'leye gatca'xima ak!a'lamat itca'gail icqxi'ba. Aga kxwô'pt ilklil'xamat gatcxi'nx' ak!a'lamatpa; a-isdā'x gatca'gemunxa. Kxwô'ba
10 gayu'txuit iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt galixlu'itcatk yaxa ya'x icpu'xyatin ixā'imat; cixglā'gwax ici'a'xan icpu'xyatin. Aga kxwô'pt gali'gluma icpu'xyatin ya'xan gwe'nemix. Aga kxwô'pt gayugi'luktcu iskl'u'leye dagā'mui; nu'it gay'umaqt; ak!a'lamatpa gayakxa'imaxit; sā'q^u galilga'xit ilklil'xamat.
15 Aga kxwô'pt gacdu'adapge'x'id ick!a'lkal. Aga kxwô'pt galixle'tek icpu'xyatin; gayu'la-it.

Aga kxwô'pt capca'p ga'kcu'x ick!a'lkal. Aga kxwô'pt tectce'k sā'q^u ita'lqpa ga'cxel'lux. Aga kxwô'pt ga'xi'-
ina'x iskl'u'leye yu'meqtpa. Ga'xcē'na'x ia'gitcpa kxwô'dau
20 idia'm'luxiba kxwô'dau idia'qxuitba. Aga iskl'u'leye yō'-
meqt ixí'mat. Aga kxwô'pt ga'ki'm icpu'xyatin icya'xan: "Qē'ng' alxu'xwa?" Aga kxwô'pt ga'lu'pa. Aga kxwô'pt ga'ki'm: "Qā'xb' alxu'ya?" Aga kxwô'pt ga'ki'm: "Alxu'ya 'guca'xba." Wi'tla ga'ki'm: "Nā'qxi p' alxu'ya
25 'guca'xba." Kxwô'pt a'ga gali'kim í'xat: "Alxu'ya wa'tektib' itga'qpuks, qxa'dagatci nā'qx' atcēlge'lga iskl'u'leye." Aga kxwô'pt ga'lu'ya wa'tektib' itga'qpuks icpu'xyatin icya'xan. Ga'lu'ya; ga'ô'qxui lu'nix. Aga kxwô'pt ga'gí'witx'it.

30 Gatcilxa'dagwa iskl'u'leye; galixgo'itk. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim: "Qxwô'txalā' ya'qdi'x inogo'ptit." Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'wa; í'wi í'wi galixalude'lkemtek itaqx'a'tba. Kxwô'pt

¹ Same tune.

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far away we two have left them." And then again they sang out: "Slain were the two sons of Antelope; far away have we left them." And then again they sang out: "Far away we two have left the children of Coyote; killed were they all."

Straight on the two went. Now (meanwhile) Coyote had laid down a big stone in the doorway. And then he stuck in spits about the stone, stuck them circlewise near it. There Coyote stood. And then he listened while he, Antelope, lay down; Antelope knew about his two sons. Then one of Antelope's sons sang out five times. Coyote fell down senseless and died straightway; he fell over on the stone and all the spits pierced him. And then suddenly the shinny-ball was thrown into the house. Then Antelope arose and seated himself.

And then they chipped up the shinny-ball into little pieces and rubbed it all over their bodies. Then they wiped themselves on Coyote where he lay dead; they wiped themselves against his nose and against his ears and against his legs. Now Coyote is lying dead. And then Antelope and his two sons said: "What shall we do?" Then they went out of the house and said: "Where shall we go?" And then they said: "Let us go to the sky;" (but) on second thoughts they said: "We should not go to the sky." So then one of them said: "Let us go on the tops of the grass so that Coyote may not find us." So then Antelope and his two sons went on the tops of the grass. On they went and passed three nights. And then they went to sleep.

Coyote came to and awoke. And then he said: "I've slept altogether too long." Then he started to pursue them and looked all around to follow them by their tracks. Then he thought: "How, where have they gone?" He

- “Qe'negi,” galixlu'xwa-it, “qā'xba lu'it?” Nā'qxi gatcu'guiga ila'qxat. Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya ca'iwatklacka gatclu'a. Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya iskluleye. Gayuyā'2. Aga kxwó'pt galilxa'ca. Aga kxwó'pt ilteqó'ba gayu'ya;
- 5 gatcló'qxemet ilteqoa'. Aga kxwó'pt i'wi gali'xôx. Aga kxwó'pt gatclge'lkel ilgoa'filx ilteqó'ba. Aga kxwó'pt galixwó'xit; k!wa'c gali'xôx. Aga kxwó'pt galixlu'xwa-it: “Afginua'gwa ilgoa'filx.” Aga kxwó'pt dakda'k gatcu'x idia'gamatex; gatcu'gwiga; xu'lxul gatcu'x iagitexu'tpa.
- 10 Agalixlu'xwa-it: “Anlwa'gwa ilgoa'filx.”
- Aga kxwó'pt i'wi gali'xôx; ilteqó'ba ilgoa'filx. Aga kxwó'pt itla'maq gatclilux sô'q^u sôq^u idiaga'matex. Aga kxwó'pt galixlu'xwa-it: “Lku'n aga ilu'meqt.” Gayu'ya; gatslklul'uk ilgoa'filx. Plā'la lu'xt ilgoa'filx. Aga kxwó'pt
- 15 wítla gatcligelga ikla'lamat. Galixlu'xwa-it: “Aga ikla'lamat anil'lagwa 'laq!a'qctaqba. Alu'meqta.” Gayu'ya iskluleye; gatcligelga ikla'lamat. Aga kxwó'pt gatclil'lagwa. Aga kxwó'pt gatclge'ltcim ikla'lamat. Gatclu'ketem ilgoa'filx; klā'ya lu'meqt. Aga kxwó'pt galixlu'xwa-it:
- 20 “Qe'negi qē'dau?” Kxwó'pt gatsugit'sxaba isia-gi'k'lan. Gatsulxam: “Qe'negi qē'dau?” Aga kxwó'pt gatsulxam: “Aga mtxa'nitk^ulitck.”
- Aga kxwó'pt gacgiulxam: “Ag' aqcxamelukli'tckwa. Nilu'ya imi'qxôq iskluleye, nilu'ya ickla'lkaliamt l'gwe'ne-
- 25 mick; kxwó'dau icpu'xyatin icya'xan (n)ictu'ya cta'xta ctmô'ket. Kxwó'ba niqldina imi'qxôq iskluleye. Cta'ima icpu'xyatin icya'xan nickeu'kl' ickla'lkal. Aga kxwó'pt nicglu'ma, 'Iskluleye imi'qxôq niqldina.' Qē'dau nicxtki'm icpu'xyatin icya'xan. Aga nicdi'mam itq^ul'ē'ba. Iaxa
- 30 ma'ya nimde'muqt; sā'q^u ilkli'lxamat nilmi'tgat imi'iqpa. Aga kxwó'pt ickla'lkal nicdi'mam. Aga kxwó'pt sā'q^u nilxi'tx icpu'xyatin icia'xan. Lku'p lku'p nilketxa' ickla'lkal. Aga kxwó'pt tei'kteik nilxi'tx. Aga kxwó'pt nilu'ya; lux'lu'x' nilge'mtx la'-itcka. Aga kxwó'pt nilki'm, “Qā'xb'

could not find their tracks, so he went and pursued them in any direction at random. And then on Coyote went. He went and went (until) he became thirsty. So he went to the water and drank of the water. Then he looked closely and caught sight of a person in the water. He was scared off and was afraid. Then he thought: "The person is going to kill me." So he loosened his arrows and got hold of them; he pulled them out of his quiver. Now he thought: "I shall slay the person."

And then he looked closely; the person was (still) in the water. Then he shot every single one of his arrows at him and thought: "Perhaps he has died now." He went and looked at the person; the person was there just as before. And then again he took a stone. He thought: "Now I shall throw the stone at his head. He will die." Coyote went and got a stone and then threw it at him. He struck him with several stones. He went to look at the person; he was by no means dead. And then he thought: "How is this?" Then he defecated his two faeces and asked them: "How is this?" He said to them: "Now tell me."

And then they said to him: "We two shall tell you. Your children, Coyote, did go, the five went for the shinny-ball; also Antelope's two sons did go, those two. There your children, Coyote, were killed; the two sons of Antelope alone took the shinny-ball with them. And then they cried out, 'Coyote, your children have been killed.' Thus said the two sons of Antelope. Now they arrived home at the house, but you died; all the spits remained stuck in your body. Now then the shinny-ball came, and Antelope and his two sons put it all over themselves. They broke the shinny-ball up into small pieces and then rubbed it over themselves. And then they went;

alxu'ya?" Aga kxwô'pt niŕu'ya wa'tcktiba itgaq!é'liqpukc. Aga kxwô'pt ya'xtau ma'ika ifni'pul isk!u'leye i'wi gam-xa'txulal."

- Gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Aga ga'nuit da'ukwa qxuct.
 5 Qā'xba niŕu'ya icpu'xyatin ici'aŕan?" "I'wad niŕu'ya." Aga
 kxwô'pt gayu'ya. Gatcu'guiga idiaga'matcx. Gayuyā'2
 tēxā'p gayuyā' wā'pul. Wí'tla wí'gwa gayu'ya; wí'tla
 wā'pul gatčlú'a isk!u'leye icpu'xyatin icya'ŕan. Wí'tla
 wā'pul gayu'ya. Galuyā'2 gwā'p wí'maŕ. Aga kxwô'pt
 10 gaŕgē'witx'it. Aga kxwô'pt gatčŕgē'lkel ŕgē'witem itpo'-
 qxuxba. Gatčŕgē'lkel aga ka'dux. Gatčŕgē'lga ifgē'ninua;
 gatčlú'lagwa. Gatčlú'lŕam: "K!ā'ya mcta'mx amxu'xwa;
 mts!í'nôn; imi'xleu icpu'xyatin amxu'xwa."

- Aga kxwô'pt gaŕxwô'tck cpu'q cpu'q. Aga k!ā'ya
 15 ifaqxk!E'cemax ifa'lqpa. Aga kxwô'pt gatčlú'lŕam: "K!ā'ya
 pu mcta'mx amxu'wa. Na'ika isk!u'leye. Ag' alugwa-
 gi'ma qē'dau ide'lŕam, 'Aga da'uŕa-itcka isk!u'leye 'E'x
 gatčlú'x icpu'xyatin icya'ŕan.' Nadida'nuit itka'naximct
 aluxwa'xa; ma'it!ax icpu'xyatin. Alugwagi'ma, 'Dauya
 20 icpu'xyatin 'E'x gatci'ux isk!u'leye.'" Gali'kim isk!u'leye:
 "Iguna't icta'mx, itclí'nôn icta'mx, kxwô'dau ide'lŕam
 itka'naximct aluxwa'xa. Na'ika isk!u'leye k!ā'ya ncta'mx."
 Gwā'b wí'maŕ qē'dau gaŕxu'x í'nad wí'maŕ isk!u'leye icpu'x-
 yatin icya'ŕan ŕat!ena'uwab'¹ ife'mqa.

4. THE ADVENTURES OF EAGLE AND HIS FOUR BROTHERS.²

- 25 Aga kxwô'pt gaŕgwu'ŕem wa'lŕaiu itclí'nôn kxwô'dau

¹ Now Goldendale Valley, Klickitat Co., Wash.

² For a very similar myth of a non-Chinookan tribe cf. Farrand and Kahnweiler: *Traditions of the Quinault Indians*, pp. 102—105. The places of Eagle,

they stretched you. They said, 'Where shall we go?' And then they went on the very tops of the grass. Now that is your own reflection, Coyote, that you have been looking at all along."

Coyote said: "Why certainly! Just so, of course. Where did Antelope and his two sons go?" — "Yonder they went." And then he went on and took his arrows. He went and went, (also) over night; all night he went. Again all day he went; again all night Coyote pursued Antelope and his two sons. Again all night he went. He went and went and crossed the river. Now then they were sleeping. And he caught sight of them sleeping in the mountains. He saw them in early morning. He got some dust, threw it at them, and said to them: "You shall be no chief. You are an animal and your name shall be Antelope."

And then they started to run away, all gray (now). They were no longer of golden hue in their bodies. Now then he said to them: "You should be no chiefs. I am Coyote. And thus shall people say, 'Now these — Antelope and his two sons — Coyote did magically transform.' The Indians shall be chiefs (some of them), but *you* are Antelope. They will say: 'This Antelope did Coyote change by magic.'" Coyote said: "Salmon is a chief, Eagle is a chief, and (some) people also shall be chiefs. I am Coyote, I am no chief." Across the river did they do thus — on the other side of the river (did thus do) Coyote, Antelope, and his two sons, in the valley of *xat!ena'uwa*.¹

4. THE ADVENTURES OF EAGLE AND HIS FOUR BROTHERS.²

Now Eagle and Bluejay and Beaver — they three

Sparrow Hawk, and Chicken Hawk are in the Quinault myth taken by "Bluejay's chief," Landotter, and "another man" respectively. Bluejay and Beaver are characters in both myths.

i'í'c'ic kxwó'dau iga'nuk la'-ite lu'nike kxwó'dau ga'yaloqstk
kxwó'dau iqxaqxí'nua. Aga kxwó'pt gaku'kl iteqó'ba;
nā'zwit gaku'kl. Aga kxwó'pt gatciulxam itclí'nón iga'-
nuk: "Ag' iteqxé'mem ite'kén; aga lq!ó'b itx' ilí'paq."

- 5 Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya iga'nuk; gatci'uq; dadakda'k ga'xu'x
ilia'kxate iga'nuk; gafalima'xi'x'it ilia'kxate.

Aga wí'tla iklú'na ya'xta gaya'loqstk. Wit' a'ga gate-
tcenq!wa'lg'naba illí'paq; wí'tla gadalima'xi'x'it iteqó'ba
idiaxwó'xwó'lagôdit. Wí't!ax itclí'nón gatctenq!wa'lg'naba.

- 10 Wí'tla l!la'p gatgi'a idiaxwó'xwó'lagôdit. Wí'tla ya'xta
iqxaqxé'nua gatctenq!wa'lgunaba. Ag' é'wa wí'l'xpa
ga'xi'max'item; ga'xigi'laxidix'. Akni'm quct la'gla-itix'
itclí'nón ilió'u'xwike. Walxa'iu ga'gwu'lem; gaku'kl qu'ctia
ikni'm figla'-itix'.

- 15 Aga kxwó'pt ga'ktge'lkel itgagi'lak. Da'xtau ilaxwó-
xwó'lagôdit kxwó'dau ila'kxate kanauwā' dōb' uxwa'xt;
kxwób' itgagi'lak lu'xt kxwób' uxwa'xt. Quctia'xa wa'l'xai'
a'xtau gaku'kl. Aga kxwó'pt ga'gi'ulxam i'í'c'ic: "Aga
tga'lman ide'laxaxwó'lagôdit." Gatci'ulxam itclí'nón: "Ag'
20 amdugwa'lmama itkxwó'xwó'lagôdit kxwó'dau ili'akxate
iga'nuk." Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya i'í'c'ic. Gatcu'l'xam aga-
gi'lak: "Ag' int'tga'lman qxé'wulx." Aga kxwó'pt ga-
gi'ulxam: "K!ā'ya mna'wulx. Qxé'dau amēn.laxa'ma:
'qxigika'l.' Aga kxwó'pt ada'milxōqtcqwa'ya."

- 25 Aga kxwó'pt gaku'kl; ga'lu'y' itq'lia'mt. Kanauwā'
itgwe'nemike gaku'kl nā'zwit itkó'qba. Aga kxwó'pt
gaku'lquim; itxe'lem gaktlu't. Quctia'xa nā'mēnmōx ilgoa'-
filx afa'l'xus. Gaku'l'xam: "Iduna'yax." Quctiē'nax wa'l-
xus, k!ā'y' auna-i'x. Aga kxwó'pt ga'xe'lekteu ildu'du

and Sparrow Hawk and Chicken Hawk speared a seal. And then it dragged them along over the water, dragged them on and on with it. Then Eagle said to Beaver: "Now my hands are sick, so do you cut off the rope." So then Beaver went and bit at the (rope). Beaver's teeth all came loose, and his teeth fell over into the water.

And next another one, that Sparrow Hawk (went) and again he took hold of the rope with his claws; this time also his claws fell overboard into the water. Next Eagle took hold of it with his claws; also his claws sank under water. Next that Sparrow Hawk took hold of it with his claws. Now by that time they had been thrown on to land and come ashore. Truly Eagle and his younger brothers had been on board a canoe. They had speared a seal and it had dragged them along with it, (as) in truth they were in a canoe.

And then they saw a woman. Those claws of theirs and their teeth were all gathered here; where the woman dwelt, there they were gathered. As it turned out, that woman was the seal that had dragged them along with her. And then they said to Bluejay: "Now go and get our claws." Eagle said to him: "Now you will go and get my claws and Beaver's teeth." So then Bluejay went and said to the woman: "I have now come for the (claws and teeth), O niece." And then she said to him: "I am not your niece. Thus shall you speak to me: 'O wife;' and in that case I shall return them to you."

And then she took them with her and they went towards the house. All five of them she took with her straight on into her house. And then she gave them to eat and put food before them. In truth it was all persons' eye-balls. She said to them: "They are huckleberries." In fact they were eye-balls, not huckleberries. And then they sank down tubes in themselves through

ifòk^ucxa'tpa nā'wit łxoab wilx. Aga kxwó'pt galałxe'le-
mux wa'łxus.

Aga wi'tłax gakte'lquim; gaktlu'd itłxle'm; qucti'ax'
itqu'mxum. Aga wi'tłax galałxe'lemux; nā'wit gałge'lba;
5 qu'ctiax' itgoa'filx ita'qxumxum. Gaktlu'łxam agagi'lak:
"Da'udax id^{si}'next."¹ Qucti'axa la'łlałx gaktlu'x. Qucti'axa
qxē'dau axlu'xwan: "Anłu'dina da'ula-itc ifka'luke itcl'i'nōn
ifió'ułike." Axlu'xwan: "Qxuct anłudi'naya." Aga wi'tłax
gaktlu'kl diłt i'tq^{li}. Aga kxwó'pt gagiflu't iqtea'mat qucti'ax'
10 ifkce'n, itgoa'filx ita'kce'n ifmē'meluct. Aga kxwó'pt xa'u-
xau gałxu'x ng' ifkce'n.

Aga kxwó'pt gaktlu'łxam: "Wi'tłax ta'xyax da'b' am-
cu'ya diłt i'tq^{li}." Qucti'axa idmē'meluctike itgā'qlutcu
qxuxigi'łxal; kxwó'ba gaktlu'kl. Aga kxwó'pt gału'pğa;
15 dagabga'p itx^udli't; qucti'axa itq^u'tciu tea'uwigalòq; idmē'-
meluctike. Aga kxwó'pt gatcige'lga fió'ułike itcl'i'nōn;
sā'q^u kxwó'l kxwól idiapí'qxba gał'xelux ifió'ułike. Aga
kxwó'pt i'wi gatctux idia'piq; dalaula'u gałxu'x ifió'ułike
itcl'i'nōn. Qucti'ax' axlu'xwan agagi'lak: "Anłudi'naya;
20 ałła'-ida itcl'i'nōn ifió'ułike." Aga kxwó'pt gałxi'la-it itq^u-
li'ba dagapga'p itx^udli't; idmē'melōctike itgā'qlutcu ga-
qxu'xikilx. Aga kxwó'pt gaqi'ulxam ika'la: "Ag' ifłta'-it;
daud' itx^udli't aga da'k amdu'xwa." Aga kxwó'pt qē'dau
gayuxuguma'filx, qucti'axa ix^utlilili. Aga kxwó'pt lu'q!
25 gatctux itx^udli't; yòk^ucxa'tpa gadi'lustsu. Aga sā'q^u lu'qx
gatctux ix^utlilili itx^udli't. P!ā'zla łxē'la-itix ifió'ułike i-
tel'i'nōn; saq^u iftluxia'luimax.

¹ This is an Indian stew made of two roots (adwó'q "wild carrot" and amu'mal "wild potato") to which dried fish was sometimes added.

their mouths reaching down straight to the ground. So then they (pretended to) eat the eye-balls.

The she gave them to eat again and put food before them. In truth it was brains. And again they ate it and it went straight through them — truly a person's brains. The woman said to them: "This is an 'id'ci'-NEXT'¹ stew," but in fact she was deceiving them. Truly thus she thinks: "I shall kill these men, Eagle and his younger brothers." She thinks: "Indeed I shall kill them." And again she took them along with her to a certain (other) house. And then she gave them a comb — in fact a hand, a dead person's hand: And they combed themselves with the hand.

And then she said to them: "Again to that one house yonder you shall go." In truth (where) dead men's bones were being burned up as fuel, there she brought them. And then they went inside the house. The smoke (went up) all murky; truly dead men's bones were smouldering. And then Eagle took his younger brothers and completely sheltered his younger brothers under his wings. Then he turned to look at his wings; Eagle's younger brothers were all covered up out of sight. In truth the woman thinks: "I shall kill them. Eagle and his younger brothers will die." So then they stayed in the house (while) the smoke (went up) all murky; dead men's bones were being burned as fuel. And then a man was told: "Now they have died, so you will remove this smoke." So then he moved forward while sitting down in this manner² — in truth he was Ix^utli'lili³. He swallowed the smoke and it slid down into his mouth. Now Ix^utli'lili had swallowed all the smoke. Eagle and his younger brothers were sitting perfectly unharmed; they were all brave heroes.

² Indicated by appropriate movement.

³ This is some species of bird, but my interpreter was unable to identify it.

Aga kxwó'pt plā'la; klā'ya gaľu'meqt. Aga kxwó'pt wí'tla gaľulxa'mam; gaľu'ya dí'xt itq^uli. Gaklí'lwim itku'lal kxwó'dau idona'yax kxwó'dau gaklí'lwim it^é'nxt. Quctí'ax' axtau gaklí'lwim agu'sgus; gaklu't it^ótlu'kt'
 5 it^éxlé'm. Aga kxwó'pt gaľxlé'mtek itlu'kti^x itclí'nôn ifiô'u-xikc. Aga kxwó'pt gaľulxa'mam: "Ifu'gum' amex-cga'ma; iqxemctlxá'mam." Aga kxwó'pt galí'kim itclí'nôn: "A'-i qwô'tk' aľem' ancxcga'm'; aga nā'qxi negi'ukel ifu-guma, ag' a'ľema qwô'tk' ancú'ya."

- 10 Aga kxwó'pt gaľu'ya; gaľu'yam. Kxwó'pt a'ga gaľx-cka'm ifu'guma itclínôn ifiô'u-xikc. Ict'ô'xuyal iqxaqé'nua gaya'lôqstk cdax ka'nactmôkct; kxwó'dau iga'nuk idkla-munak iaľxle'm. Itslí'nôn ia'ľxľem iqxaqé'nua; kā'nauwe dan k'ľwa'c tei'uxt; kā'nawē dan teiudi'nax ixē'ľax.
 15 Wí'tľax daukw' itclí'nôn, kā'nauwe dan idiaľxē'wulx itclí'nôn; plā'la pu atcigelga'ya iqwa'qwa ia'xan. Da'uya wí'gwa aga ga'nuit k'ľwa'c tei'uxt itclí'nôn kxwó'dau iqwa'qwa. Kxwó'dau ya'xta ific'í'c ifa'-u-xi^x cmanix a'ľema aľgi'ľgwa ifu'gumaba aľema kxwó'pt iaxt' atctudi'naya ide'ľxam iata-
 20 la'meqsqit a'meni; aľem'atciugwitci'ma ide'ľxam; atctuwa'ľalma. Quctí'axa sā'q^u ifaľxē'wulxumax ľa'-imadikc ľa'-itcka ľxa'-u-xikc.

Aga kxwó'pt galuxwa'ckam ifu'gumaba. Quctí'axa yaxu'lal ila'ľik ya'xacgeniľ ifu'guma kxwó'dau ik'lasti'ľa ya'-
 25 xacgeniľ ifu'guma. Quctí'axa gaľxcka'm ifu'guma ľa'-itcka. Aga kxwó'pt gatcige'ľga ifu'guma ik'lasti'ľa kxwó'dau ila'ľik gatci'gelga ifu'guma; icia'gite galilda'-ulx. Quctí'axa icia'gitcpa iki'xax ifu'guma. Aga kxwó'pt ľlu gatci'ux itclínôn ila'ľik; nā'wit daľaxľa'x gacxu'x icia'gite ila'ľik; nigelga'ba
 30 iciagitcia'mt. Aga kxwó'pt gatcige'ľga ifu'guma ya'xta ik'lasti'ľa; ľlu'ya gali'xôx. Aga kxwó'pt galigla'ľamtek ik'lasti'ľa. Aga' witľax ľlu' gaqi'ux ik'ľa'stila; daľpaqlpa'q idia'kcen

So then (they sat) unharmed; they had not died. And then again people came to tell them and they went to a certain (other) house. A woman gave them to eat nuts and huckleberries, and she gave them to eat "id^{ei}'nxt" stew. In truth she who gave them to eat was the Squirrel, and she gave them good food. And then Eagle and his younger brothers ate well. And then people came to tell them: "You will gamble at bones; we have come to tell you." Then Eagle said: "Well, yes, we shall gamble. Although we do not know how to play bones, still we shall go."

So then they went and arrived (there). And then Eagle and his younger brothers gambled at bones. Sparrow Hawk and Chicken Hawk, both of them are brave heroes; also Beaver, who eats sticks. Sparrow Hawk is an eater of birds; he strikes fear into everything, kills everything and eats it. Thus is also Eagle, and Eagle is strong above everybody; he could easily seize a grizzly-bear's son. And in fact nowadays Eagle makes even a grizzly-bear afraid. Also that Bluejay, their younger brother, if they should win in bones, then that one was to kill the people with his battle-ax; he was to strike the people with it and to chase them around. Truly they were all strong, they all alone, the brothers.

So then they gambled at bones. In truth Rabbit was a player, a gambler at bones; also Crab was a gambler at bones. In truth they (all) gambled at bones. Now then Crab took hold of gambling bones, and Rabbit took hold of gambling bones and they were forced up into his nostrils; the gambling bones were really in his nostrils. And then Eagle guessed Rabbit; straightway did Rabbit's nostrils tear open and the (bones) flew out of his nostrils. And then that Crab took hold of the gambling bones and started in to avenge (Rabbit). And then Crab sang.

galu'xwax; galige'lgab' ilu'guma; idia'kcen LE'XLEX galu'xwax. Sa'qu gatci'lgalq ikla'stila; mtgiu'qumit ya'pa'lumit. Kxwó'pt gayu'ya ilteqó'yamt ikla'stila; demé'nua gayu'ya. Da'uya wí'gwa ilteqó'ba gwā'nisim ikla'stila.
 5 Qē'dau Lu' gatci'ux itel'ínôn.

Aga kxwó'pt gałki'łk ilu'gumaba. Aga kxwó'pt i'ic'ic gatctu'dina ide'lɣam; gałki'łkpet gatci'ugwitcim yata'lamεqsgit ya'xdau da'b' iki'xax iaga'qetaqba. Aga' wí'tlax gałłulɣa'mam: "Amcu'xa aqla'lgilɣal itlagó'ulalɣam."
 10 Aga kxwó'pt gału'ya aqla'lgilɣalia'mt; gałxa'lutkam; gaqxa'łlux aqla'lgilɣal qucti'axa nā'men itk!a'lamat a'meni. Aga kxwó'pt gała'lupqa aqla'lgilɣal; axłe'lt gi'gwalix kwó'dau sā'qu itk!a'lamat a'meni aki'xax. Gałxi'la-it gi'gwalix. Aga kxwó'pt gwe'nem' itk!a'lamat gaqta'xpu.

15 Aga kxwó'pt gali'kim itel'ínôn, gatclu'lɣam ilió'uɣike: "QENegi mcxu'ɣwan ag' ilɣla'-it." Aga kxwó'pt gali'kim iğa'nuk: "Na'ika nka'la; kwa'-ic ilteqo'a'młge'lgela." Aga kxwó'pt gasixmi'lgwa; aga wí'tlax gasixmi'lgwa; aga wí'tlax gasixmi'lgwa; aga wí'tlax gasixmi'lgwa. Aga
 20 kxwó'pt ilteqoa' gałxu'x wí'lɣpa. Aga kxwó'pt wí'tla gasixmi'lgwa gwe'nemix; ila'la gali'xòx. Aga kxwó'ba gałxē-la-it; gałxqwót ilteqó'ba.

Aga kxwó'pt gałkłge'łga gwe'nem' itk!a'lamat ilak!a'itsax. Aga kxwó'pt gałgi'ulada ik!a'lamat ilteqó'ba; aga
 25 kxwó'pt łpū'2 galimałxi'x-it ik!a'lamat. Aga kxwó'pt galu'gwakim ide'lɣam: "Igwā'2łilɣ i'ic'ic; aga łku'p igi'xòx iagó'menił i'ic'ic;" La'xenix ide'lɣam galu'gwakim. Aga' wí't! iklu'na gałgikła'da ilteqó'ba. Aga' wí'tla łpū'2 gaqí'ltēmôq. Aga' wí't! iklu'na i'xt gałgi'ulada ik!a'lamat;
 30 łpū'2 gaqí'ltēmôq; aga łu'n. Aga' wí't! iklu'na ik!a'lamat

Also Crab was guessed and his hands were all cracked; the gambling bones flew out and his hands suffered big tears. Crab was burned all over, and you can see that he is red. Then Crab went to the water, went to stay there for all time. Nowadays Crab is always in the water. In this manner did Eagle guess him.

And so they won at gambling bones, and Bluejay killed the people. Whenever they won he struck the people with his battle-ax, which is here on his head. Now people again came to tell them: "You strangers will go to the sweat-house." And then they went towards the sweat-house and came to put themselves into it. The sweat-house had been built for them, in truth, entirely out of stones. So then they went inside of the sweat-house. It was heated down below and it was made entirely out of stones. They stayed down below and then the (sweat-house) was covered with five stones.

And then Eagle spoke and said to his younger brothers: "What do you think? Now we have died." Then Beaver said: "I am a man; soon you shall see water." And then he turned a somersault; and again he turned a somersault; and again he turned a somersault; and again he turned a somersault. Now then some water had come to be on the ground. And then again he turned a somersault, five times in all; a lake had come to be. So there they stayed and bathed themselves in the water.

And then they took five small stones. Then they threw a stone into the water and the stone fell in with a splash: "ġpū2." And then the people said: "Poor, poor Bluejay! Now Bluejay's heart has burst." (Thus) said the people outside. And again they threw another (stone) into the water, and again it was heard splashing: "ġpū2." Then again they threw one other stone in; it was heard splashing: "ġpū2." Now three (had been thrown in). And

gałgiuła'da itcqô'ba; aga wi'tla łpū'2 gaqi'ltemôq. Ila-
gwe'nema gałgia'limatx itcqô'ba łpū'2.

- Aga galu'gwakim: "Ag' i'umeqt itcl'nôn." Galu'gwa-
kim ide'lɣam: "Aga sã'q^u iłxla'-it la'-itcka itcl'nôn iliô'-
5 uɣike. Aga sã'q^u łkupłku'p igu'xwax iłagwô'meniłmax."
Aga kɣwô'pt da'k gaqtu'x tkla'lamat da'xput aqla'lgilɣal.
Wi'tla da'k gaqi'ux ikla'lamat; wi'tla da'k gaqi'ux; wi'tla
da'k gaqi'ux iła'lakt; wi'tla iłagwe'nema da'k gaqi'ux.
Aga kɣwô'pt i'ic'ic'ic gayu'łait icqxi'ba; gatcige'lga yata'-
10 lamqsgit. Sã'q^u lla'k gaqu'x aqxa'budit ikla'lamat iła-
gwe'nema. Aga' witla yu'xt i'ic'ic'ic icqxi'ba. Aga kɣwô'pt
gayugwô'b' i'ic'ic'ic; gatctudi'na wit' ide'lɣam. Aga
kɣwô'pt kanauwã' gałupa; gałage'lba aqla'lgilɣal. K!ã'ya
gału'meqt.
- 15 Aga' witla kɣwô'pt gałulɣa'mam: "Iqxemclɣa'mam
a'lem' alxega'ma waqi'lukck."¹ "Ā'i; antcu'y' ałema," ga-
li'kim itcl'nôn. Aga kɣwô'pt gałuya. Aga kɣwô'pt gatc-
hu'lɣam itcl'nôn iliô'uɣike: "Can a'lem' amtxu'xwa!"
Gali'kim iganuk: "Na'ika anxu'xwa." "Ā'u," gali'kim
20 itcl'nôn. Aga kɣwô'pt gayu'ya iganuk itkla'munakiamt.
Aga kɣwô'pt itkla'munak qu'lqul gadi'xelux iawa'nba
iganuk. Aga kɣwô'pt galixa'-ima gasixe'łtsgi iski'ntɣoa.
Aga ya'xta iganuk gasixe'łtsgi; gasixe'łtsgi kanactmô'ket
iganuk k!m' a'g' iski'ntɣoa. Aga kɣwô'pt ya'x gaqige'lga
25 icka'n nã'men ilkla'lamat łinq!wē'yayut yate'nba. Aga
kɣwô'pt gaqiulata'ulɣ icka'n ilkla'lamat łinq!wē'yayut ya-
tsla'imts!a-imba. Aga kɣwô'pt galigeluktcuô'môm iawa'nba
iganuk icka'n. Iã'2xi gatssu'bena icka'n; gwã'p gwôp gali-
xi'maxitam icka'n. P!ã'2l' iximat iganuk. K!ã'ya gayu'-
30 meqt; galixle'tck. Aga yaxt' iski'ntɣoa galixa'-ima, gasi-
xe'łtski. Aga kɣwô'pt iku'ma ilkla'lamat łinq!wē'yayut
idiats!a'imts!a-imba gaqiulata'ulɣ; galige'łektu iku'ma

¹ A term used to refer to any contest designed to test physical power or

again they threw another stone into the water, and again it was heard splashing: "łpū2." The fifth (stone) they threw down into the water with a splash: "łpū2."

And they said: "Now Eagle has died." The people said: "Now they, Eagle and his younger brothers, have all died. Now all their hearts have burst." And then they took off the stones which were covering the sweat-house. Again they took off a stone; again they took one off; again they took off the fourth; again they took off the fifth. Now Bluejay had seated himself in the doorway and had taken his battle-ax in hand. (With) the fifth stone the door was entirely uncovered, and still was Bluejay sitting in the doorway. And then Bluejay rushed out and again killed the people. Then they all went out of the sweat-house. They were not dead at all.

And then again people came to tell them: "We have come to tell you that we should all gamble at 'waqílukck.'" "Yes, we shall go," said Eagle. So then they went and Eagle said to his younger brothers: "Who of you will do it?" Beaver said: "I shall do it." — "Yes," said Eagle. And then Beaver went to the woods; and Beaver stuck sticks on to himself all over his belly. Now then the Black Bear lay down, lay with belly up. And that Beaver lay down with belly up; both Beaver and Black Bear lay down with belly up. And then a cedar tree was taken with pebbles all clinging to its butt end. Then the cedar, the pebbles clinging to its roots, was slung up into the air. The cedar came falling down on Beavers' belly. Far off bounded the cedar; the cedar fell down broken to splinters. Beaver was lying quite unharmed. He was not dead at all, and arose. Now that Black Bear lay down, lay with belly up. And then a cottonwood tree with pebbles clinging to its roots was slung up into the endurance. The one that stood the most pain won the game.

iski'ntxoá. ʼEʼx gatci'ux itclí'nôn, idialxē'wulx gatcdi'lux
 itclí'nôn iku'ma; yagwa'lapik gali'xôx iku'ma. ʼEgwā'p
 ʼgwo'p ia'wan; tslu'nusmax gatssu'bena ia'ʼq iskin'txoá.
 Gayu'meqt iski'ntxoá. Gałki'łk itclí'nôn ilió'uʼxikc. Aga'
 5 wit'la kxwó'pt gatctu'dina iʼi'c'ic idē'lxam.

Aga wi'tla gaqlulxa'mam: "Iqxemclxa'mam amcktu-
 gwa'lmama wa'liq itgaqlutsu'lxlem itktuk!wa'itsax." Aga
 kxwó'pt galu'ya; nā'zwit galu'ya. Gałgi'gelkel qucti'axa
 denu'x iqxwó'qxwômax gwe'nema. Aga kxwó'pt ʼEʼx ga-
 10 tci'ux itclí'nôn iqxwó'qxwômax giuk!wa'itsax gali'xôx. P!ā'la
 gatcige'lga iʼi'c'ic iqxwó'qxwô iak!a'its. Gatcige'lga p!ā'l'
 itclí'nôn ia'xta i'xt. Kanauwā' gwe'nema gałgige'lga ła'-
 itcka ā'xt i'xt. Aga kxwó'pt gałgi'ukł itq'liā'mt; gałgiu'-
 kłam. Nā'zwit itq'hi'ba gałgixi'ma. Aga kxwó'pt gali-
 15 xelga'yu itq'hi'ba iqxwó'qxwômax. Aga kxwó'pt galu-
 gwaki'm idē'lxam: "Da'n bam' imegi'luk?" Gaqlu'lxam:
 "Imegi'tkam wi'tla kxwó'ba qa'xb' imegi'gelga." Aga
 kxwó'pt gali'kim itclí'nôn: "Mca'ika mcxatxu'lal amci'la."
 Aga kxwó'pt gałgige'lga iqxó'qxômax; wi'tla gałgi'ukł;
 20 wi'tla gałgi'utkam. Aga kxwó'pt wi'tla galu'yam. Aga
 kxwó'pt wi'tla iʼi'c'ic gatctudi'n' idē'lxam. Aga wi'tlax
 gałki'łk ła'-itcka.

Aga kxwó'pt wi'tla gaqlulxa'mam: "Wi'tlax alxcga'ma;
 alxmu'ya ili'paq łukli't iltcqó'ba." Aga kxwó'pt gatclu'l-
 25 xam itclí'nôn ilió'uʼxikc: "Can amcxu'xa ili'paqba?" Aga
 kxwó'pt gali'kim iʼi'c'ic: "Na'ika anxu'xa nka'la." Quc-
 ti'axa agu'sgus axtau ili'paq ałgucgi'wôgwôx. Aga kxwó'pt
 i'axta iʼi'c'ic kxwó'ba gacxu'x ili'paqba ka'nactmôkct agu's-

air and the cottonwood tree fell down on Black Bear. Eagle had exercised his magic influence upon it, Eagle had put strength into the cottonwood tree, and the cottonwood became heavy. (Black Bear's) belly burst into pieces and the body of Black Bear bounded off in fragments. Black Bear was dead. Eagle and his younger brothers won, and then Bluejay again killed the people.

And again people came to tell them: "We have come to tell you that you should go and get a maiden's tiny little dogs." So then they went, straight on they went. They saw what proved indeed to be five grizzly bears. And then Eagle exercised his magic power upon the grizzly bears, so that they became quite small. Bluejay quietly took hold of a small grizzly bear. Eagle quietly took hold of that (other) one. All five of them took hold of the (grizzly bears), each one taking one (grizzly bear). And then they took them with them towards the house and came home with them. Straightway they put them down in the house, and then the grizzly bears started in fighting in the house among themselves. And then the people said: "For what reason have you brought them?" They were told: "Go and put them back again in that place in which you got them." And then Eagle said: "You people were saying, 'Bring them.'" And then they took hold of the grizzly bears, took them back again, and went to put them down again. Then they arrived back again and Bluejay again killed the people. So they had won once more.

And then again people came to tell them: "Let us gamble again. We shall wrestle on a rope stretched out across the water." And then Eagle said to his younger brothers: "Who of you will wrestle on the rope?" And then Bluejay said: "I shall do it, I am a man." Truly that was Squirrel who was going backwards and forwards

gus. Aga kxwó'pt gatcugwi'lx i'í'c'ic agu'sgus iatala'm-
qsgit e'n'egi. Galu'maqt agu'sgus; galuxu'ni. Ide'lxam
uxwē'la-itix; tklí' qcuxt; su'xwitk. Aga kxwó'pt gaqxa'-
gēlkēl uxu'nit u'mqt agu'sgus. Quctí'axa gatcugwi'lx i'í'c'ic;
5 quctí'axa gatewó'q. Aga kxwó'pt galikta'ptck i'í'c'ic.
Aga wí'tla gatctudí'na ide'lxam.

Aga wí'tla gaqlulxa'mam itclí'nón ilió'uxike ilt'ó'xyalu-
wimax. Aga kxwó'pt galkí'm: "A'-i; anteu'ya." Galu'ya.
Aga kxwó'pt gaqlu'lxam: "Alxmu'ya." Aga kxwó'pt
10 gali'kim itclí'nón: "Na'ika itclí'nón nda'ika antxmu'ya."
Quctí'ax' anti'x'wa ā'xtau gacx^wmu'ya itclí'nón. Aga
kxwó'pt gacxgē'lga; Lxoa'p Lxoa'p gacku'xwix itcta'piqx; nā'-
wid wí'lxpa Lxoa'p Lxoa'p gacgdí'lōxiq itcta'piqx. Gacx-
gē'lga itcta'kcēn a'meni Lxoa'p Lxoa'p. Aga kxwó'pt
15 gaedí'lwilxt igu'cax.

Aga kxwó'pt gatclu'lxam ilió'uxike itclí'nón: "Cma'nix
alilk^wtcwó'ya na'ik' itclq itclí'nón nā'wit ilatsu'mitpa ilteqoa'
kxwó'ba lē'b amegí'txa; cmani a'xka alilk^wtcwó'y'a anti'xwa
itca'lq nā'wit amegí'txa lxlē'ltpa." Gayu'lekteu itclí'nón
20 ia'lq; nā'wit ilatsu'mit ilteqoa' lē'p galgí'ux itclí'nón ia'lq.
A'xt!ax anti'xwa gayu'lekteu itca'lq; na'wit lxlē'lt ilteqoa'
lē'p galgí'ux.

Ia'xta i'í'c'ic ilteqoa' tclu'gwiptekt aga la'uxlaux isi'axus;
idelxam'ba aga ila'-itix qí'uxt. Kwó'dau ga'yalóqstq ia'xta
25 itq^wlí'ba yu'xt; aga lqoā'b ya'xut. Kwó'dau ia'xtax iqxa-
qē'nua aga' yuxt itq^wlí'ba it'u'xyal; aga dagapgā'b isi'axus
yuxt. Kwó'dau iaxtax iqa'nuk ag' itk!a'munak dixi'lax.
Yaxa' yax ila'lxt itclí'nón aga gactí'lwulxt igu'cax. Aga
cxgē'lgat Lxoa'p Lxoa'b icta'lq anti'xwa kxwó'dau itclí'nón.

on the rope. So then both that Bluejay and Squirrel wrestled there on the rope. Bluejay struck Squirrel with his battle-ax; Squirrel died and drifted down stream. The people were seated while the two had them look on; the (people) looked. And then Squirrel was seen drifting down dead. Truly Bluejay had struck her and truly he had killed her. And then Bluejay returned to land and killed the people again.

And again people came to tell Eagle and his younger brothers, all brave heroes. And then they said: "Yes, we shall go." They went and then they were told: "We shall wrestle." Then Eagle said: "I Eagle and another shall wrestle." Truly that was Buzzard who was wrestling with Eagle. And then the two took hold of each other, interlocking their wings. Straightway on the ground they interlocked their wings and caught hold of each other by clinching each others' claws. And then up they went to the sky.

Now then Eagle said to his younger brothers: "If my, Eagle's, body should fall down, straightway shall you dip it there in cold water; if her, Buzzard's, body should fall down, straightway shall you put it into warm water." Eagle's body fell, and straightway they dipped Eagle's body in cold water. Also her, Buzzard's, body fell, and straightway they dipped it in warm water.

That Bluejay is carrying water and his eyes have become blinded; now he has been made a slave. And that Chicken Hawk is sitting in the house and one of his eyes has burst. And that Sparrow Hawk, the hero, is now sitting in the house; now he sits with his eyes bedimmed. And that Beaver is now eating sticks. But Eagle, their elder brother, and (Buzzard) had now mounted up to the sky; now Buzzard and Eagle are holding on to each other by interlocking their bodies. They have reached

Cti'lwilxt igu'cax; aga da'im' itq!â'tcu icta'iq. Qē'dau gacxmu'ya.

Kxwôpt a'ga galiglu'ma itcl'î'nôn:

Qā'x - ya dō'x' i - tcū' - x'ix gā' - ya - lô'qstk i -
 tcū' - x'ix, ā'g' i - na'n-ga - gwā' wôpt - q!ôā' - mat.¹

Aga wítla galiglu'ma itcl'î'nôn; gatciú'pgēna; wítla daukwa
 5 gatcigi'luma. Aga kxwôpt gaqí'ltēmaq ga'yaloqstk itq'li-
 ba; aga lqoā'b ya'xut. Aga wítla gatcigi'luma gayaxi'la²
 itló'xyal; gatciú'l'xam itcl'î'nôn: "Qā'xya dōx' itcū'x'ix gā-
 yaxi'la'd' itcū'x'ix, ā'g' ina'ngagwā' wôptq!ôā'mat."³ Qē'dau
 galiglu'ma itcl'î'nôn. Aga gaqí'ltēmaq ga'yaloqstk: "glē'l
 10 glē'l"⁴ iagó'mēni'pa. Aga wítla iqxaqē'nua gaqigi'luma:
 "Qā'xya dōx' itcū'x'ix Iqxaqē'nu' itcū'x'ix, ā'g' ina'ngagwā'
 wôptq!ôā'mat."³ Aga kxwôpt galixgu'itk, gatci'lxā'dagwa.
 Wítla da'ukwa iqxaqē'nua gali'xōx: gaqí'ltēmōq: "glē'l
 glē'l."⁴

15 Aga kxwôpt ik!mō'kan gatccu'x ga'yaloqstk kxwô'dau
 iqxaqē'nua. Aga kxwôpt qē'dau gacxu'x lxoā'p lxoā'b
 í'tq'li. Aga kxwôpt gacti'lwilxt igu'cax, gacgi'unaxlam
 icta'l'xt. Aga kxwôpt gactu'ya; nā'2wit a'ga gacgi'gēlkēl
 lē'l+ iguca'xpa. Aga kxwôpt q!oā'b aga gackcu'xam.
 20 Kxwôpt a'ga gacga'gēlga; lq!ō'p gacgi'axux itca'tuk
 anti'xwa ga'yaloqstk iqxaqē'nua ici'ô'u'ix itcl'î'nôn. Gacgi'u-
 lada itcaxa'qetaq. Gayugwí'lekteu kxwôb' gi'gwal uxwē-
 la-itix idē'l'xam. Nā'wit itcēq'ô'ba l'xē'l't lē'p gaqí'ux
 itcaxa'qetaq — l'xē'l'tpa.

25 Kxwôpt l'awā'2 dakda'g gackdī'xux itgaxaxwô'lagôdit;

¹ Probably a mythical name of anti'xwa, buzzard.

² This is another species of hawk, whose identification is uncertain; it is described as a small hawk with sharp wing bone.

up to the sky and their bodies are nothing but bones. Thus did the two wrestle.

And then Eagle cried out: "Where now is my brother, Sparrow Hawk, my brother? Now I have been overcome by Buzzard." And again Eagle cried out and called upon him; again as before he cried out to him. And then Sparrow Hawk was heard in the house; now one of his eyes was burst. Then again (Eagle) cried out to *Gayaxifa'da*,³ the hero. Eagle said to him: "Where now is my brother, *Gayaxifa'da*, my brother? Now I have been overcome by Buzzard." In this way did Eagle call out. And Chicken Hawk was heard saying "glE'l glE'l"⁴ in his heart. Then again Chicken Hawk was called out to: "Where now is my brother, Chicken Hawk, my brother? Now I have been overcome by Buzzard." And then he awoke and came to himself. Also Chicken Hawk did as before; he was heard saying: "glE'l glE'l."⁴

And then Sparrow Hawk and Chicken Hawk became frenzied and tore thus right through the house. Then the two rose up to the sky and went to look for their elder brother. And then they went on and straightway caught sight of him as a tiny dark speck in the sky. Then they came up close to the two (combatants) and they seized her; Sparrow Hawk and Chicken Hawk, the two younger brothers of Eagle, cut off the neck of Buzzard and threw down her head. It fell down there below where the people were dwelling. Straightway her head was dipped in warm water.

Then slowly the two unloosened her claws from him, (for) she had pierced through and caught hold of his

³ Same tune.

⁴ High pitch.

gigɛ'lgat lxoā'b iagô'meniŋ. Nā'wit gacgu'xwôqwiq, gaq-
 da'limalx. Aga kxwô'pt gacgi'ukl wí'tla wí'lxiamt; gac-
 gi'gelga idia'xôba; gacgi'uklam wí'lɣpa. Aga kxwô'pt
 nixelxa'damidagwa; gatclɛ'lg' iŋka'tcla itcl'ínôn. Aga
 5 kxwô'pt wa'x gali'xux. Aga kxwô'pt gwe'nemiŋ wa'x
 gali'xux iŋka'tcla. Sā'q^u gatcilxa'dagwa ia'tq. Iaxa a'x
 anti'xwa galu'maqt nā'wit; iaxa'-ix itcl'ínôn k!ā'ya gayu'-
 meqt. Qē'dau gacxmu'ya itcl'ínôn kxwô'dau anti'xwa.

Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim iga'nuk: "Na'it!a dā'minu' anu'ya
 10 iŋtcqô'ba, kxwôb' itkla'munak adnɣ'lmuxuma." ^ɛic^ɛ'c ga-
 li'kim: "Nait! a'ga dika dabā'2 'nxu'xwa; ag' alugwa-
 gi'ma, 'Da'uyax ia'xta ^ɛi'c^ɛic,' ide'lɣam, 'aga dikā'2 ga-
 li'xôx.'" Aga ya'xta gali'kim ga'yalôqstk: "Aga na'it!a
 dabā'4 anxu'xwa itkla'munakba; alugwagi'ma, 'Ia'xta
 15 ga'yalôqstk tkli' 'ki'xax.'" Ia'xta gali'kim iqxaqē'nua:
 "Na'it!a ca'iwatklack' anxu'xwa, qaxbā'2 'nxu'xwa; na'it!ax
 alugwagi'ma ide'lɣam, 'Iqxaqē'nua itlô'xyal qaxbā' dan
 itsl'ínôn atcl'uwagwa; kā'nauwē dan lu'q!w atci'xwa.'"

Aga ya'xt' itcl'ínôn gali'kim: "Aga na'it!a demí'4nua
 20 lxlí'wix anxu'xwa; klā'zy' aqxangelgla'ya, aic qa'ma ^ɛi'x
 aqɛngɛ'lgɛla. Alugwagi'ma ide'lɣam, "Itcl'ínôn igidi'-
 mam, dā'2uyax iu'gwat itcl'ínôn, qxadaga'tci itcl'ínôn p'
 atcixcga'ma ia'xan iqwô'qwô; k!wa'c tci'uxt. Idia'xē'wulx
 itcl'ínôn; daukwô' wit!a k!wa'c tci'uxt itcl'a'nk; p' atcigɛ'lg
 25 wí'tla ya'xka itcl'ínôn; aic pu tcqa'k tcqak atciuxwa itcl'a'ng
 iap!a'skwal, asa'qsaq p' alaxu'xwa. Qē'dau p' atcu'xwa
 itcl'ínôn.'" Qē'dau gali'xôx iqxa'nutck.

heart. Straightway they threw the (claws) down and they fell into the water. And then they carried him back with them to the ground; they took hold of him by his arms and arrived with him on the ground. And then he brought himself to. Eagle took some grease and then poured it over himself. Five times he poured the grease over himself and he recovered entirely. But she, Buzzard, died straightway, while Eagle did not die at all. Thus did Eagle and Buzzard wrestle.

And then Beaver said: "For my part I shall go to stay always in the water, and there I shall eat wood." Bluejay said: "Now I for my part shall be here in this place, and the people will say, 'This is that Bluejay and he did (his deeds) hereabouts.'" And that Sparrow Hawk said: "Now I for my part will be in this place in the woods and they will say, 'That Sparrow Hawk is looking on.'" That Chicken Hawk said: "I for my part will be anywhere at all, all over shall I be. As to me the people will say, 'Chicken Hawk, the hero, kills birds everywhere; everything he swallows.'"

And that Eagle said: "Now I for my part shall be in the mountains for ever and ever. I shall not be seen at all, only once in a great, great while will any one see me. The people will say, 'Eagle has come; here is Eagle flying about, in order that Eagle may take from the grizzly bear his son — he fills him with dread. Strong is Eagle. So also he fills a deer with dread and also him could Eagle seize. He could just chew at a deer's hide and it would become buck-skin. Thus could Eagle do with it.'" In this way took place the tale.

5. COYOTE'S PEOPLE SING.

Kwô'dau wí'tlax galugwa'lalamtck tcage'lqliḡ. Kā'nauwi dan galigla'lamtck; ia'xt!ax isk!u'leye galigla'lamtck kḡwô'dau isk!u'leye aya'ḡan itca'xliu Stwô'winḡ wa'liq galagla'lamtck. Ła'im' ilka'tcla gaḡage'lba itcô'k^ucḡat.

5 Aga kḡwô'pt gaqi'ulḡam isk!u'leye: "Ami'ḡan agla'lam." Aga kḡwô'pt gali'kim: "Da'n iage'lpḡ?" Aga kḡwô'pt gaqi'ulḡam: "Ilka'tcla łage'lpḡ." Aga kḡwô'pt gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Itgagē'wam alaxu'xwa na'ik' akḡa'n." Aga kḡwô'pt galixelki'tk, ayak!a'lamat ngi wa'nux — iguna'd

10 aya'nux. Ilka'titck gatcla'lutk; galixelki'tk isk!u'leye idia-gē'wam.

Aga kḡwô'pt galigla'lamtck wit! íḡat. Gaqi'ulḡam: "Imi'ḡan isk!u'leye igla'lam." Aga kḡwô'pt gali'kim: "Da'n iḡe'lpḡ?" Ga'lugwakim: "Iḡa'wilqt i'ḡelpḡ." Ga-

15 li'kim isk!u'leye: "Qxa'daga tccudi'li." Aga kḡwô'pt kā'nauwē dan galigla'lamtck. Aga kḡwô'pt ia'xta galigla'lamtck itq!wô'ł; kwô'dau axt' ak!u'stxulal galagla'lamtck:



"Kla' - la ga - nō' - xwaḡ a' - ca wa - ḡi' - ḡan ga' - qen-du - lā' - pax."

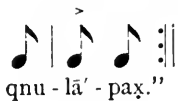
Aga kḡwô'pt gaqi'ulḡam: "Alu'ḡ ami'ḡan, alamxelek-tewa'ya." Aga kḡwô'pt gala'kim: "K!ā'ya! dōukw' a'ḡa

20 k!a'la ganu'xwaḡ, gaqendu'lapax." Qucti'ax' ak!u'stxulal itca'xliu ak!a'lakia.

Ag' a'xtax a'dwôq a'xta galagla'lamtck. Gala'kim qē'dau:



"Stai - ma - plā' gi - ski - pi' - ast stai - ma - plā' gi - ski - pi' - ast ga -



qnu - lā' - pax."

¹ A root referred to as "wild potato" and said to be similar to the amu'mal, though of a finer grade and grain.

5. COYOTE'S PEOPLE SING.

And again the (people) sang in winter. Everybody sang; also that Coyote sang and Coyote's daughter, whose name was Salmon-Head-Fat, a maiden, sang. Nothing but grease was flowing out of her mouth. And then Coyote was told: "Your daughter is singing." Then he said: "What is flowing from her?" And then they told him: "Grease is flowing from her." Then Coyote said: "My daughter will be a medicine-woman." And then he smoked — his pipe was made out of a stomach, a salmon's stomach. Dried salmon-flesh he filled into the (pipe) and Coyote, the medicine-man, smoked.

And then yet another one sang. (Coyote) was told: "Your son, Coyote, is singing." Then he said: "What is flowing out of him?" They said: "Blood is flowing from him." Coyote said: "He is merely lying." Now then everybody was singing. Now that Itq!wô'î¹ was singing and that Ak!u'stxulal² was singing: "On my back I carry my daughter; we two are dug up." And then she was told: "Give (us) your daughter, you will let her fall." But then she said: "No! just in that way am I accustomed to carry her on my back; we two are dug up." Truly Ak!u'stxulal was her name, Ak!a'lakia.

Now that A'dwôq³ was singing. Thus she said: "Only by my tail, only by my tail am I dug up." And just in that way would one dig her up to-day; one would not dig up all, but only half of the "wild carrot." Now that Amu'lal sang, that Aq!ô'lawa-itk, and also that Butter-cup sang. Now that Grizzly Bear sang. Thus he sang:

² A root referred to as "wild onion;" it is similar to the ak!a'lakia but smaller in size.

³ Known as "wild carrot."

“Hô hô hô’! hô hô hô hô’!”¹ Then said Grizzly Bear: “Hā’₄!¹ Whoever shall have challenged me, his head shall I eat up.” And Grizzly Bear struck the people. And then they said: “Who will challenge Grizzly Bear?” So then a man, small of size, said: “I will challenge him.” And then he arose and the man said: “Somewhere it is sung all day long, ‘Eat up heads.’” Then he said to (Grizzly Bear): “I have challenged you. Be quick and do something to me! Be quick and eat up my head! Quickly shall I run up into your belly and you, Grizzly Bear, will quickly die.” (Grizzly Bear) looked at him; then said to him: “O younger brother, we should not kill each other. Perhaps the people will laugh at us.”

Also Rattlesnake sang. Thus he said: “Where I shoot my arrows, there is the sunflower’s shade.” And then Rattlesnake said: “Whoever has challenged me, him shall I put cheat-grass into.” So then a man stood up and then he, Raccoon, said to him: “Somewhere it is sung all day long, ‘The shade of the sunflowers, (there) I shall destroy the people.’” And then he said to him: “I have challenged you. Be quick and put the (cheat-grass) into me! Be quick and bite me! Quickly shall I warm my hands and your eye-balls will become all white. You, Rattlesnake, will die.”

Now also Crow sang. In truth they were (all) singing,

lam; qucti'axa łxlu'xwan: "Aga L' alixu'xwa'-axdixa." Quc-
 ti'axa ikxa'lal łgi'gelximuł; Lla' łgiuxu'lalił. Quc(t) tci'c
 łki'xax. Kā'nauwi dan galigla'lamtck, a'xk' ag' at!a'ntsa
 galagla'lamtck. Aga kxwô'pt ikxa'lal gayu'ya. Aga
 5 kxwô'pt gactugwí'lti kxwô'dau ikxa'lal. Aga kxwô'pt
 galu'ya at!a'ntsa; itcaqla'benx gagige'lga. Aga kxwô'pt
 gakdu'mitcki uxôq!ē'walal. Cpa'q gayu'ya ikxa'lal; nu'it
 łxliu galu'xwax uxôq!ē'walal. Aga kxwô'pt gagige'lga
 at!a'ntsa yaga'it igu'nat. Aga kxwô'pt gayaxe'lemux a-
 10 t!a'ntsa. Aga kxwô'pt gagage'łkel atcl'ı'qtclı'q ia'xilax igu'nat
 at!a'ntsa. Aga kxwô'pt gagi'axcgam; gagiugwô'mida-ulx.
 Aga kxwô'pt gala'kim at!a'ntsa: "Na'it!ax wô'pkal!"
 Gagige'lga; gaga'ilagwa at!a'ntsa kxwô'dau ifga'wulqt
 sãq^u dałã'l gala'xux. Da'uya wi'gwa dałã'l at!a'ntsa itca'x-
 15 leu. Iaxa a'xta atcl'ı'qtclı'q datgu'p gala'xux itcaxa'qctač.
 Da'uya wi'gwa itca'xleu atcl'ı'qtclı'q, datgu'b itcaxa'qctač.

6. COYOTE ENSLAVES THE WEST WIND.

Gatgi'' ide'lxam, gayu'y' isk!u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt ga-
 luxwadi'na; ia'xtax isk!u'leye gatcłucga'magwa, ila'-itix ga-
 tci'ux, qucti'axa wi'npō uxwadi'naxpa gatcige'lga. Kxwô'dau
 20 wi'tlax ifkla'ckac gatcłucga'magwa, gatcłge'lga; qucti'ax'
 ikxa'lal ia'xtau isk!u'leye ifa'-itix gatclux. Aga kxwô'pt
 pla'la galu'xwax iqxa'dinaxiamt.

Aga kxwô'pt gadagla'-it aknim, galuxôk!wa'yu ide'lxam.
 Isk!u'leye iela'-itix gadigla'-it; plã'ł plã'ł gali'xux iałq, quc-
 ti'axa wi'npu ia'xtau. Kxwô'dau apla'fali¹ gada'gla-it plã'ł
 25 plã'ł itca'xleu apla'fali; da'uya wi'gwa itsak!a'its ak!a'daqxi
 itsa'xleu aka'xtau. Aga kxwô'pt gatgi'am. Aga kxwô'pt
 gada'gelułx akni'miamt. Gaqi'gelga isk!u'leye iela'-itix,

¹ Said by Pete Mc Guff to mean "shiner, a small freshwater fish of the minnow

and truly they were thinking: "Now it will become warm." Truly they were calling the West Wind and trying to make warm weather, (for) indeed, they were feeling cold. Everybody was singing and now she, Crow, sang. Now then the wind was blowing; it rained and the West Wind blew. And then Crow went out and took her fish-bag and then found fish. The wind was blowing hard and the fish were forced clear up to shore. And then Crow caught a big salmon, and then Crow ate it. Then Bald Eagle caught sight of Crow as she was eating the salmon. And then (Bald Eagle) took it away from her and flew up away with it. Then Crow said: "Let me have a fish-gill!" (Bald Eagle) took one and struck Crow with it, and she became all covered with black blood. To this day she is black and her name is Crow. But that Bald Eagle became white about her head. To this day her name is Bald Eagle; she is all white in her head.

6. COYOTE ENSLAVES THE WEST WIND.

The people went and Coyote went. And then they fought with one another. That Coyote captured some one and made him a slave; in truth he had caught a flea where the (people) were fighting. And again he captured a child and took him; in truth that was the West Wind, whom Coyote made a slave. And then the (people) stopped fighting.

And then they sat in the canoes, and the people started out for home. They sat down on Coyote's slave, (so that) his body became mashed to pieces; in truth that was the flea. They also sat down on Ap!a'tali¹ (so that she became) mashed to pieces, she whose name is Ap!a'tali; nowadays she is small and Chub is that same one's name.

kind." Both shiner and chub belong to the genus *Leuciscus*.

plā't plāt ia'tq. Aga kxwô'pt galu'gwakim idē'lxam:
 "Da'uyax iskl'u'leye iē'la-itix." Aga kxwô'pt gatci'uqtek
 itq'fi'ba, kanactmô'kct gatccô'qtek iciē'la-itix itq'fi'ba; ga-
 tciula'-imit.

- 5 Aga kxwô'pt gatcige'lkel iskl'u'leye iē'la-itix ixgoqe'nk
 aga sā'q^u fi'lwulxt isi'axus idiamlô'ximax, dalaula'u gali-
 xux ia'tq. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim iskl'u'leye: "Iatcge'mem
 igi'xux itcfla'-itix." Aga kxwô'pt idē'lxam gayaxa'wik^ulitck
 iskl'u'leye: "Ayu'meqta." Aga kxwô'pt ka'tcag wa'pul
 10 galiklu'tk ila'-itix. Iskl'u'leye dadakda'g galu'xwax idi-
 a'q^u. Galixgu'-itk iskl'u'leye; klāy' iē'la-itix. Gayu'yam
 iskl'u'leye; klāy' iē'la-itix. Aga kxwô'pt gatciu'naxl is-
 klu'leye; sā'q^uba galigucgí'walemtck; nā'qxi gatcige'lga.

- Aga kxwô'pt gatsugi'tsxaba isiô'utxix. Aga kxwô'pt
 15 gatsu'lxam: "Mtxa'nitk^ulitck da'n ia'xtau." Aga kxwô'pt
 gacgiu'lxam: "Ag' a'lma ma'yax amgi'ma, 'Da'ukwa
 nxi'luxwan.' Nā'qxi la'xtau iŋkla'ckac, ikxa'lal ia'xtau."
 Gacgiu'lxam iciē'gik^ulan, gacxi'lk^ulitck; gwā'znisim cxiluk-
 fi'lal iciô'utxix cta'xka. Aga kxwô'pt gacgiu'lxam: "Cma'-
 20 ni tq!é'x amiu'xwa kxwô'pt amxigeltklí'xema." Aga kxwô'pt
 gacilda'-ulx; daga'mui gagiula'da a'ixat; ak!u'na na-ilda'-
 ulx iawa'nba plā'la. Gacgiu'lxam: "Amextklí'xema itpo-
 qo'xba, kxwô'b' amige'lgaya ia'xtau imi'la-itix. Cma'nix
 iŋtka'alta'-ida daŋā'l wí'lx alixa'txa itpoqo'xba. Aga kxwô'pt
 25 amxigitklí'xema, kwô'b' amigi'tga imila'-itix, alimxa'tsk^uda."

Aga kxwô'pt gatcige'lkel iskl'u'leye wí'lx itpoqo'xba.

¹ It is not at all clear what is meant by this statement.

And then they arrived home and got out of the canoes. Coyote's slave was taken hold of, he whose body was mashed to pieces. And then the people said: "This one is Coyote's slave." Then he took him in into the house — both of his slaves he took into the house — and set him down.

And then Coyote saw that his older slave was all swollen in his eyes and in his ears and that his body had become all covered over (with swellings). So then Coyote said: "My slave has become sick;" and then Coyote told the people: "He will die." Now then in the middle of the night the slave breathed and Coyote's house became loosened. Coyote awoke; his slave was not to be seen. Coyote went to (where he had left him); his slave was not to be seen. And then Coyote looked for him, went about everywhere, (but) did not find him.

And then he defecated out his two younger sisters. He said to them: "Do you two tell me what has become of that one." And then they said to him: "Now you yourself will say, 'Just so did I think.' That is not a child, that is the West Wind." His two faeces spoke (thus) to him and told him (what to do); always were they two, his younger sisters, wont to tell him. And then they said to him: "If you wish to get him, then you must set a trap for him." And then the two jumped up into him; the one threw him down senseless, (while) the other one jumped up into his belly quietly. The two said to him: "You will set a trap in the mountains and there you will catch that slave of yours. When snow will fall, black¹ will be the land in the mountains; and then you will lay a trap for him and there you will catch your slave; he will be caught by your trap."

And then Coyote saw the land in the mountains and then set a trap for him. He was caught in (Coyote's)

Aga kxwó'pt galixige'ltkliq. Galixu'tsk^{ut}. Aga kxwó'pt ka'dux gayuya itpoqo'xumaxba iskl'u'leye; gatsiuk^{uctam}. Aga gatcige'lkel yu'xt kla'u iki'xax ifiè'pcba. Aga kxwó'pt gatcige'lga iskl'u'leye, gatciu'gulaqlq; gatciu'k^u itq'fia'mt
 5 ia'la-itix. Aga wi'tla da'ukwa gali'xôx ikla'ckac; sā'q^u gali'lwilxt ia'iq. Aga wi'tla gatcige'lkel. Aga wi'tla gali'kim iskl'u'leye; "Łuwa'n ayu'meqta." Wi'tla xa'bixix. Aga wi'tla nigē'ltaqlx. Qē'dau la'ktiḡ galige'ltaqlx. Quc-ti'axa łagwe'nemix gatcige'lga ikxa'lal iskl'u'leye. Aga
 10 wi'tla nigē'ltaqlx.

Aga kxwó'pt gacgiu'lḡam ició'utxix: "Klā'y' ag' amige'lga'ya iktié'na ikxa'lal ya'xtau. Aga kxwó'pt ag' igi'mge'ltaqlx gwā'znîsîm. Cma'nix pu nimi'dwôq pu klā'y' ikxa'lal; klma klā'y' imi'wôq, gwā'znîsîm ikxa'lal. Cma'ni
 15 pu alidi'a ikxa'lal, aga kxwó'pt alugwagi'ma ide'lḡam, 'Iskl'u'leye gatciu'mamegwa ikxa'lal!' Qē'dau alugwagi'ma ide'lḡam. Qxa'dagatci gwā'nîsîm ikxa'lal, qxa'ntcipt ide'lḡam aluxwa'xa da'uyaba wíl'x." Qē'dau iqxa'nutck.

7. THE EAST WIND AND THE WEST WIND.

Gacxmu'ya ikxa'lal ika'q (*wa'lawala wi'n*). Aga kxwó'pt
 20 wa'x gatclu'x ikxa'lal ifka'tcla gacxge'lgabet. Aga kxwó'pt ia'xtau ika'q ika'ba gatciulgwi'amt. Gaqxiqla'-it ika'q, gaqiu'fada. Aga wi'tla gacxge'lga; gatciu'fada ikxa'lal ikaq. Aga wi'tla gacxge'lga; aga wi'tlax ikxa'lal wa'x gatclu'x ifka'tcla; gaqiu'fad' ika'q. Wi'tla gacxmu'ya; wi'tla ga-
 25 qiu'fada ika'q. Wi'tla gacxmu'ya; wi'tla gaqiu'fada ika'q.

trap. Now then next morning Coyote went into the mountains, went to look for him. Now he saw him sitting; he is bound fast at his feet. And then Coyote seized him and recognized him; he took his slave with him to the house. And again it happened to the boy as before; his body swelled all up. And again (Coyote) saw (how) he (was). And again Coyote said: "Perhaps he will die." Again it was night. And again he escaped. In this way he escaped four times. Truly Coyote caught the West Wind for the fifth time. And again he escaped.

And then his two younger sisters said to him: "Now you will not catch that West Wind. This time he has escaped from you for all time. If you had killed him, there would be no west wind; but you did not kill him, (so) there will always be a west wind. Whenever a west wind will come, then the people will say, 'Coyote made a mistake about the West Wind.' Thus will say the people. So that there will always be a west wind, as long as people will be in this land." Thus is the tale.

7. THE EAST WIND AND THE WEST WIND.

The West Wind and the East Wind (Wallawalla wind) wrestled with each other. And then the West Wind poured out grease when the two took hold of each other. Now then that one, the East Wind, caused ice to be spread out. The East Wind was thrown down, he was laid low. Then the two again took hold of each other; the West Wind threw down the East Wind. Then the two again took hold of each other, now the West Wind again poured out grease; the East Wind was thrown down. Again the two wrestled with each other, again the East Wind was thrown down. Again the two wrestled with each other, again the East Wind was thrown down.

Gaqiu'l̥xam ika'q: "Klā'y' idmiłxē'wul̥x ika'q. Qē'dau alugwagí'ma idē'l̥xam, 'Gacxmu'ya ikxa'lal ika'q.' DEMÍ'2nua na'ika itkłxē'wul̥x í'nxux." Galu'gwakim idē'l̥xam: "DEMÍ'2nua idiałxē'wul̥x ikxa'lal, ika'q klā'y' idiałxē'wul̥x."
 5 Qē'dau iqxa'nutck; gaqí'ux itq!ēyó'qtikc. Klā'ya can da'uya wí'gwa.

8. COYOTE AND HIS DAUGHTER.

Aga k̥xwó'pt isk!u'leye łxēla'-itix aya'kikal k̥xwó'dau ia'qôq. Aga k̥xwó'pt gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Aga da'uya na'ika kwaic andē'muqta. Cma'nix andē'muqta nā'wit
 10 ak̥xa'n atca'tcgama itciē'łpet¹ alidí'mama, qa'dac naika dā'wi itce'lgulit — qē'dau ya'lgulit itciē'łpet naika' dāwi." Aga k̥xwó'pt gayu'meqt isk!u'leye. Aga k̥xwó'pt gaqí'utkam isk!u'leye wí'ł̥pa.

Aga k̥xwó'pt gayu'yam. Aga k̥xwó'pt nā'wid galu-
 15 xwí'łuxwa-it: "Igidí'mam ya'xka ika'la." Aga k̥xwó'pt gaqa'-ilut wa'liq isk!u'leye aya'xan iciwa'nic² isk!u'leye iē'łpet. Aga k̥xwó'pt galu'gwakim: "Ia'ima nigixtkí'm isk!u'leye, 'Andē'muqta; alidí'mam' ika'la, amcga'-ilud' ak̥xa'n." Agaqa'-ilut agagí'lak; ctuła'-ida, łuwa'n gwe'-
 20 NEMIX gactu'qui.

Aga k̥xwó'pt galu'gwakim: "Qē'negiska! k!man ałq-dí'wi isk!u'leye." Aga k̥xwó'pt galu'gwakim: "Qā'xba nimcki'tk amcgiu'kctama." Aga k̥xwó'pt gaqiu'kctam qa'xba gaqí'utk. Nixłu'xwa-it isk!u'leye: "Aga iqnu'gu-
 25 lałq, qa'xba niqxe'ntgaba niqnu'kctbama." Niktā' 'sk!u'-

¹ My interpreter, Peter M^cGuff, explained the term "trading friend" thus: When one has a friend in another country (i. e. among another tribe), he comes to see you or you go and see him. Both are glad to meet each other; one gives

The East Wind was addressed (by the West Wind): "Thou art not strong, O East Wind! Thus shall the people say, 'The West Wind and the East Wind wrestled with each other.' For all time to come have I become strong." The people said: "The West Wind is strong for all time to come, the East Wind is not strong." Thus is the tale and was made (by) ancient men. Nowadays there are not such.

8. COYOTE AND HIS DAUGHTER.

Now Coyote, his wife, and his children were living together. And then Coyote said: "Now I here shall soon die. When I shall have died, straightway my 'trading friend',¹ looking exactly like me, will come and marry my daughter — thus will my 'trading friend' look, like me." And then Coyote died; so then they buried Coyote in the earth.

And then (Coyote) arrived, and straightway the people thought: "He (who) has come is the man (that Coyote spoke of)." So then the maiden, Coyote's daughter, was given to the stranger,² Coyote's "trading friend." And then the people said: "Coyote himself said, 'I shall die. A man will come and you shall give him my daughter.'" So the woman was given to him. The two lived together, slept together about five nights.

And then the people said: "How is this! But he is just like Coyote!" And they said: "Where you people have buried him, (there) do you go and look for him." And then they went and looked for him where he had been buried. Coyote thought: "Now they have recog-

the other a horse or anything valuable, the other gives something in return. Such are each other's *ié'lpET*.

² *Ciwa'nic*: "stranger" in Yakima. Used regularly for Nez Percé.

leye; nixa'-ima qa'xba iuqi'xtba; galixo'qcit. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Iamcuq!wā'ixwałxt." Aga kxwô'pt isk!u'leye gali'kim: "Gwā'nîsîm qē'dau amcxu'xwa idē'l-
 5 xam itemca'-utxiḡ. Naik' a'ga da'uyax qē'dau i'nxux;
 akxa'n inu'cgam, inu'xtga da'uya wi'gwa. Aga gwā'nîsîm qē'dau aluxwa'xa idē'lḡam."

9. THE VISIT TO THE WORLD OF GHOSTS.

Galu'meqt aya'gikal isk!u'leye kxwô'dau ctmô'kct icia'ḡan gactu'meqt. Kxwô'dau ia'xta itcl'i'nôn galu'meqt aya'gikal kxwô'dau ctmô'kct ici'aḡan itcl'i'nôn gactu'meqt. Kxwô'pt
 10 a'ga gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Nāqx' itlu'kti-iḡ inxlu'ḡwan naik' isk!u'leye qxa'damt nictu'ya axgika'l itcxa'n." Aga kxwô'pt gatciulḡam itcl'i'nôn: "Nxe'lqłat qxa'damt nigu'ya ami'gikal. Cma'nix tq!é'x muxt atxu'ya atgcugwa'lmama naik' axgi'kal k!ma ma'ik' ami'gikal k!ma imixa'n kxwô'-
 15 dau na'ik' itcxa'n. Nxe'lqłat qa'xba cki'xax."

Aga kxwô'pt gactu'ya ka'nactmôkct isk!u'leye k!ma itcl'i'nôn; gackcu'gwalemam icta'gikal. Nā'2wit gactu'ya; gactu'yam iaga'iḡba wi'mał. K!ā'ya wi'lḡ, sā'q^u iłtcqoa' la'-ima. Aga kxwô'pt gatci'g'lg' idu'du itcl'inôn. Aga
 20 kxwô'pt gatcillu'tk idu'du itcl'i'nôn. Aga kxwô'pt gatciul-
 xam isk!u'leye: "Itlu'kti asemḡlu'tka isk!u'leye; nā'qxi amsenklitka, iwat se'mḡelutk i'nadiḡ. A'lema amugi'gela idē'lḡam." Aga kxwô'pt gasiḡelutk isk!u'leye i'nadiḡiamt. Gatcillu'tk idu'du, galigla'lamtck itcl'i'nôn.

25 Aga kxwô'pt gatciulḡam itcl'i'nôn: "Qe'negi dan imi-

¹ This refers to the belief that the howl of the coyote foretells the approach of death.

² Coyote is thus the first to commit incest. The incestuous conduct of some people is traceable to him.

nized me, since they have gone to look for me where I have been buried." Coyote ran off and laid himself down where he had crawled out, and slept. And then Coyote said: "I give you people the death omen."¹ And then Coyote said: "Always shall you people do thus (to) your younger sisters. Now I here have done thus; I have married my daughter, have stolen her this day. Now always shall people thus do."²

9. THE VISIT TO THE WORLD OF GHOSTS.

Coyote's wife died and also his two sons died. And also Eagle's wife died and Eagle's two sons died. Now then Coyote said: "It is not well, I Coyote am thinking, whither my wife and my son³ have gone." And then Eagle said to him: "I know whither your wife has gone. If you wish to have her, let us two go to bring both of them back — my wife and your wife, also your son and my son. I know where the two of them are."

And then both of them, Coyote and Eagle, did go; they went to fetch their wives. Straight on and on they went and arrived at a great river. There was no land in sight, water alone was all there was. And then Eagle took a flute. And then Eagle blew into the flute and said to Coyote: "It is good, O Coyote, that you should look; you shall not look at me, look across yonder. You will behold the (ghost) people." And then Coyote looked over to the other side. He blew into the flute, Eagle sang.

And then Eagle said to him: "Did you see anything

³ We have just been told that Coyote and Eagle had each lost two sons. *Itsxa'n* "my son" (instead of *ickxa'n* "my two sons") is inconsistent with this statement, but it has been thought advisable to leave Louis Simpson's inconsistencies uncorrected.

ge'ikel i'nadiḡ?" — "Klā'ya dan inige'ikel." Gatciu'lḡam itcl'i'nōn: "Ga'nuit klā'ya pu amḡge'lgela iḡgoa'filḡ ma'ika iskl'u'leye. Aga'nuit uxwala'-it ide'lḡam." Gatciu'lḡam: "Nxlu'xwan ḡga iskl'u'leye nā'cqi idialxē'wulḡ, aga'nuit
 5 na'ika itcl'i'nōn itklxē'wulḡ. Ag' itxdimam. I'nadiḡ, iskl'u'leye, i'nadiḡ amigikal, gala'demqt; nā'wit gala'ti i'nadiḡ kḡwō'dau imixa'n kḡwō'dau naik' itcl'i'nōn axgi'kal kḡwō'dau itcḡa'n, qxa'dagatci klā'ya can pu klō'b aḡḡtxu'kla uxwala'-id' ide'lḡam. A'ksta se'mxelutk; ini'llutk idu'du;
 10 klā'ya can imḡge'ikel ma'ik' iskl'u'leye. Aga kḡwō'ba txu'it. Qa'dac itlu'ktiḡ amxluḡwa'-ida' iskl'u'leye, 'Ag' itxdimam.' Aga qa'dac klē'b icmi'xus amsu'xwa; aga ayamgelga'ya, q^uL a'yamxelux' aga."

Gatciu'lḡam itcl'i'nōn: "Qa'dam(t) nā'zqxi asemxelutka
 15 klwa'cka; atxe'meqta, tex' atxu'ya." Aga kḡwō'pt gatci-ge'lga. Aga kḡwō'pt gactu'txuit. Aga kḡwō'pt tca'x galixōx itcl'i'nōn klwā'b ilteqoa' i'nadiḡ. Aga kḡwō'pt gasi'xelutk iskl'u'leye, ilteqō'ba gacxu'x; gacdafi'lakwit ilteqoa' iteta'psb' itcdōqwi'tba. Gactutxui'tam w'ilḡpa.
 20 Aga gapiula'da iskl'u'leye. "Nā'q' itlu'ktiḡ ma'ika iskl'u'leye ḡa' pu tex' i'txya. Yamtxu'lal, 'Naqx' asemxelutka; hā'ay atxutxwi'dama w'ilḡba kḡwō'dau asemxelutka.' Qē'dau yamtxu'lal."

Gatciu'lḡam: "Qa'dac bi't amxu'xwa iskl'u'leye. Ag'
 25 itxdimam. Ag' amxeluitca'tgema. Kwaic amugi'gel' ide'lḡam; kwaic amage'lgela amigikal klma imixa'n; da'ukwa na'ika itcl'i'nōn axgi'kal. Kwa'ic amḡge'lgela." Aga kḡwō'pt ḡa'p galixuxiḡ. Kḡwō'pt a'ḡga galu'xwaq ide'lḡam qucti'axa idmē'meluctikc. Aga kḡwō'pt aklmi'n gala-ilgati-
 30 tcu'-iḡ, nu'it qa'tki dawā'x galixō'xix. Aga kḡwō'pt gaḡu'-

1 Perhaps this means: "Probably you think that —." Qadac itlu'ktiḡ = probably.

on the other side?" — "I saw nothing at all." Eagle said to him: "Indeed you, O Coyote, would not see any person, but truly people are dwelling (there)." He said to him: "I think perchance Coyote is not strong, but truly I, Eagle, am strong. Now we two have come here. On the other side, O Coyote, on the other side is your wife, she who has died. She has come to right across from here, also your son and my, Eagle's, wife and son, so that no one would take us two across to where the people are dwelling. *Now* look! I have blown into the flute; you Coyote did not see anyone. Now there we are. It is just good that you Coyote will think,¹ 'Now we have arrived.' Now just close your eyes; then I shall take hold of you and you will hang on to me."

Eagle said to him: "You shall not look in any direction; (if you do), we two shall die, we shall be drowned." And then he took hold of him. And then the two of them stood up. Now then Eagle stepped across to the other side of the water. And then Coyote looked and they both fell into the water; they struck the water at their feet and legs. They came to a stand on the ground and Coyote was thrown off. (Eagle) said to him: "It is not well, you Coyote, that we two should now be drowned. I said to you, 'You shall not look; we must come to a stand on the land before you look.' Thus I said to you."

He said to him: "Just you remain quiet, Coyote. Now we two have arrived. Now you shall listen. Soon you will see the people, soon you will see your wife and your son; likewise I, Eagle, (shall see) my wife. Soon you will see them." And then it became dark. Just then people came together, in truth the dead. And then the moon came down to the ground, straightway it became somewhat light. And then a certain person came forward

gemałx iłgoa'filx. Aga kxwô'pt gałgage'łga aklmí'n.
Aga kxwô'pt lu'qx gałku'x iłgoa'filx aklmí'n.

Aga kxwô'pt galixe'ltcmaq iskl'u'leye aya'gikal. Aga
kxwô'pt gałki'm iłgoa'filx: "Da'uwał a'gikal¹ iskl'u'leye;
5 da'uax itcl'í'nôn aya'gikal," gałki'm iłgoa'filx. Aga kxwô'pt
gacxlu'itcatk kanaactmô'ket aga gackcu'gelałq icta'gikal.
Galixłu'xwa-it iskl'u'leye: "Quct da'bał axgi'kal aki'xax,
itcl'í'nôn wi'tla aya'gikal." Kxwô'pt nixłu'xwa-it iskl'u'leye:
"Da'ulał iłgoa'filx anłuwa'gwa kwa'ic," aga itcl'í'nôn bi't
10 gayu'ła-it.

Aga kxwô'pt gactu'qui; wi'tla gactu'qui; wi'tlax ga-
ctu'qui. Kxwô'pt a'ga gatclu'wôq iłgoa'filx iskl'u'leye;
a-icā'x^u gatclu'x. Aga kxwô'pt nixenli'tcu. Aga kxwô'pt
gatciu'łxam itcl'í'nôn: "enkcta'm." Kxwô'pt gayu'ya
15 itcl'í'nôn. Aga kxwô'pt gatciu'kctam; gatcige'łkel aga
deng' ixl'idet inli'tcx^u iskl'u'leye; k!wa'c galixi'xôx. Aga
kxwô'pt gatciu'łxam itcl'í'nôn: "It!â'ktił imuwa'q axka'
daua itca'xleu Nikciamtea'c²; alu'meqta pu iłgoa'filx; imu-
wa'g aga k!ā'ya pu wi'tlax ałdı'mama dika' daba iłgoa'filx
20 ała'łutk."

Aga kxwô'pt xa'b gali'xuxił; galu'xwał ide'łxam idmē'-
meluctikc quct (d)ax da'ua-itc. Gada'ckupq ide'łxam, nu-
xwô'qxôm; iaxta kxwô'ba uxwô'qt. Quct alu'meqta, nā'wit
kxwô'b' alu'y' ała'łutk. Aga kxwô'pt gala-ixenli'tcu is-
25 klu'leye aka'xtau gatcuwô'q. Aga kxwô'pt gayu'ła-it is-
kl'u'leye dab' aklmí'n a-ilga'tcxıł. Kxwô'pt gatssu'bena
isklu'leye, kxwô'ba gayu'ła'-itam. Aga kxwô'pt gatcage'lg'
aklmí'n. Aga kxwô'pt lu'qx gatcu'xwa. Qa'tgi gayu'ła'-
itam iskl'u'leye a-itsxa'p. Aga kxwô'pt galu'gwakim
30 ide'łxam: "Łxlôida't iłgoa'filx." Tqa'uadikc qa'daga tq!ē'-

¹ For aya'gikal. In rapid speech aya is often contracted to ā.

² Nikciamtea'c is now supposed to be the person represented by the markings in the moon. The name Nikciamtea'c occurs also in a Kathlamet myth (see Boas,

I I I

and got hold of the moon; and then the person swallowed the moon.

Now then Coyote heard (speak of) his wife. And then the person said: "This here is Coyote's wife; this here is Eagle's wife," said the person. Now then both of them listened and they recognized their wives. Coyote thought: "Truly just here is my wife, also Eagle's wife." Then Coyote thought: "I shall kill this person here soon;" but Eagle remained quiet.

And then the two of them slept over night; they passed another night; they passed still another night. And then Coyote killed the person; he gradually skinned him. And then he put (his skin) down over himself and said to Eagle: "Come look at me!" So Eagle went and then came to look at him. He saw now that Coyote had something strange on himself and became afraid of him. And then Eagle said to him: "It is well that you have slain her whose name is Nikciamtca'c.² She would kill people; you have slain her, so people's spirits would no longer come here to this place."

And then it became dark; the people assembled together, truly those (were) the dead. The people entered and they arrived to assemble; that (is) where they are assembled. Truly (if) any one died, straightway his spirit went there. And then Coyote put down over himself her whom he had killed. Now then Coyote sat down here (where) the moon is descending to the ground. Then Coyote jumped, there he landed. And then he got hold of the moon and swallowed it. Coyote landed somewhat too short. And then the people said: "It is another person." Some of

Kathlamet Texts (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bul. 26, pp. 20-23), though in an entirely different connection.

yôqt galu'gwakim: "Qucti'axa iskl'u'leye ya'xtau; qucti'axa ga'ngadix gatcuwô'q."

Aga kxwô'pt gatcage'lga itcl'î'nôn aya'gikal. Aga kxwô'pt na-ixu'tk. Kxwô'dau ia'xan gatcige'lga; galixu'tk
5 wi'tla. Kxwô'dau gatcage'lga iskl'u'leye aya'gikal; wi'tla na-ixu'tk; kxwô'dau ia'xan iskl'u'leye wi'tlax nixu'tk. Gatca'xpu itcl'î'nôn waska'n; kxwô'b' aya'gikal kxwô'dau ia'xan kxwô'dau iskl'u'leye aya'gikal kxwô'dau iskl'u'leye ia'xan. Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'mquit aklmî'n iskl'u'leye, gatcu'lada.
10 Aga kxwô'pt gactu'ya aga gacxk!wa'. Gatcu'ctxwa itcl'î'nôn waska'n. Gactu'qui; wi'tlax gactu'qui; wi'tlax gactu'qui; wi'tlax gactu'qui.

Aga kxwô'pt gatcuxwa'tcmaq ide'lxam iskl'u'leye; dawô'wôwôwô uxwip!a'lawulal ide'lxam, uxwik!a'yawulal
15 ide'lxam hihihihih qxē'gēmtkixiamt yagika'uba. Hala'ktbô'wigwa wi'tlax gactu'qui. Aga kxwô'pt gactu'ya; wi'tla tēpa'g aga ide'lxam uxwip!a'lawulal; qucti'axa iskl'u'leye a'xtau aya'gikal kxwô'dau itcl'î'nôn aya'gikal kxwô'dau itcl'î'nôn ia'xan iskl'u'leye wi'tla ia'xan. Aga kxwô'pt
20 ſagwe'nema wi'gwa gatciu'lxam iskl'u'leye: "Aga na'ika andu'ctxwa a'xdau wa'skan na'ik' aga iskl'u'leye; nāqx' itlu'ktiḡ, ma'ika mēta'mḡ itcl'î'nôn. Na'ika iskl'u'leye na'ik' amu'ctxwa." Kxwô'pt gali'kim itcl'î'nôn: "K!a'ya! naik' a'ga qwôtk' a'ga na'ika nu'ctxt." Kxwô'pt gatciu'l-
25 xam iskl'u'leye: "Aga na'ika iskl'u'leye anu'ctxwa." Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim itcl'î'nôn: "K!ā'ya!" K!wa'c gali'xux itcl'î'nôn; galixlu'ḡ wa-it: "Atca'xēlaqlqa."

Aga da'ba ctagika'-uba uxwip!a'lawulal, uxwak!a'yawulal hihihihih. Kxwô'pt a'ga da'k gatctu'x itcl'î'nôn idia-
30 ctxu'lal. Aga kxwô'pt gaqdi'lut iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt gatctu'ctx iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt gatciu'lxam itcl'î'nôn, gali'kim: "Qa'dac nā'qxi iā'x' amxu'xwa; ka'natxmô'kct atxu'ya." Aga q!oa'p aga'lax aḡqidi'wi. Aga kxwô'pt

¹ In other words, it was near daylight.

the old men said: "Truly that is Coyote; truly he killed her before."

And then Eagle took hold of his wife and hid her. And he took hold of his son; he hid him also. And Coyote took hold of his wife; he hid also her. And Coyote hid also his son. Eagle closed the box; there (were) his wife and his son and Coyote's wife and Coyote's son. And then Coyote spit out the moon, he threw her away. Now then the two of them went and started homewards. Eagle carried the box on his back. They passed the night; they passed another night; they passed another night; they passed another night.

And then Coyote heard the people; the people are talking among themselves, the people are laughing among themselves behind his back. On the fourth day they passed another night. And then they went on. Now the people were again talking excitedly among themselves; truly that was Coyote's wife and Eagle's wife and Eagle's son. And then on the fifth day Coyote said to him: "Now I will carry that box on my back, I, Coyote. It is not well (that you should carry it), you are a chief, Eagle. I, Coyote, I shall carry it on my back." Then Eagle said: "No! I, never mind, I am carrying it on my back." Then Coyote said to him: "Now I, Coyote, shall carry it on my back." And then Eagle said: "No!" Eagle was afraid; he thought: "He will open the (box)."

Now here, back of the two of them they are talking among themselves, they are laughing among themselves. And then Eagle freed himself of his burden. And then it was given to Coyote; so then Coyote carried it on his back. And then Eagle said to him, he said: "Just don't you go far ahead; both of us will go." Now (it seemed) just as if the sun (were) near.¹ And then he said to

gatciu'lxam: "Ag' anxklí'tcɣaya, dik' a'g' anxklí'tcɣaya."
Aga kɣwô'pt gatciu'lxam iskl'u'leye: "Klā'ya! mcta'mx
mang i'axi mxux." Aga kɣwô'pt yā'xi gali'xôx itclí'nôn.

Aga kɣwô'pt da'k gatctu'x iskl'u'leye. Aga kɣwô'pt
5 la'k gatcu'xwa wa'skan. Aga kɣwô'pt gatca'gelkel is-
kl'u'leye aya'gikal kɣwô'dau ia'ɣan gatci'gelkel kɣwô'dau
itclí'nôn aya'gikal kɣwô'dau ia'ɣan. Aga kɣwô'pt i'wi
llā'k gatcu'xwa wa'skan iskl'u'leye. Aga kɣwô'pt galu-
gwô'ba waskania'mt iskl'u'leye aya'gikal kɣwô'dau itclí'nôn
10 aya'gikal, kanaactmô'ket gacxu'x; gatccge'lkkel iskl'u'leye.
Kɣwô'pt gactugwô'ba; kē'nua galixakxa'im' aqxa'budit;
llā'k gatcu'la'd' aqxa'budit; iā'xi galixí'max'item iskl'u'-
leye.

Kɣwô'pt a'ga gali'ktcax iskl'u'leye kɣwô'dau gali'kim
15 itclí'nôn, gatciu'lxam itclí'nôn: "Na'itla inxiɬu'xwan tq!é'x
ami'gikal kɣwô'dau imiɣa'n kɣwô'dau na'ika itclí'non axgi-
kal kɣwô'dau itcɣa'n. Dau' aga'lax ag' iml'u'mamôgwa;
klā'ya wi'tlax pu qa'ntcix aml'ge'lgelaya. Demí'nua
iɬlā'it a'ga. Dau'ax aga'lax alxugu'ya p' ag' a'lema
20 atclɛlxa'dagwa, kanauwā' p' ag' a'lem' alxu'ya icgagi'lak
kl'ma ick!a'ckac; ag' iml'u'mamôgwa. Cma'nix p' aɬu'meqt'
iɬgoa'filɣ demí'nua aɬu'meqta. Da'uya wi'gwa ma'ika
qí'dau imi'uxiɣ iskl'u'leye. Łaxta'u-aite a'lem' aleklu'klama'
alxk!wa'ya p' a'lema kanauwā'. Aga kɣwô'pt pu gwā'-
25 nîsim qē'dau aluxwa'xa Nadida'nuit kl'm' a'ga kɣwô'pt im-
l'u'mamôgwa. Cma'nix pu aɬu'meqta iɬgoa'filɣ kl'ma'lalidiɣ
ga'uaxemdiɣ p' aɬxatk!wô'ya-idema, kl'm' a'ga imdu'ma-
môgwa. Klā'ya wi'tla da'ukwa aɬxô'xwa iɬgoa'filɣ; aɬu'-
meqta pu demí'nua; klā'ya p' aqɬge'lgela. Qí'dau imi'uxiɣ
30 iskl'u'leye. Qē'dau alugwagi'ma ide'lɣam, 'Gactu'ya is-

¹ Aleklu'klama is equivalent to a-lx-k-t-u-kt-am-a. One would rather have
expect.d atkluk!ma (= a-tx-k-), "we two shall arrive with them."

him: "Now I shall defecate, right here I shall defecate." But then Coyote said to him: "No! you are a chief, go a little farther." So then Eagle went farther on.

And then Coyote relieved himself of the (burden) and opened the box. And then Coyote saw his wife, and he saw his son and Eagle's wife and son. Now then Coyote slowly opened the box; and Coyote's wife escaped from the box, also Eagle's wife, both of them got out; Coyote saw the two. So the two escaped; in vain he seated himself upon the lid; he threw the lid away; Coyote fell some distance away.

Then Coyote cried and Eagle spoke; Eagle said to him: "I for my part was thinking that you wanted your wife and your son, and I, Eagle, my wife and my son. Now this day you have made a mistake in regard to them; you shall never see them again. Now they have died for all time. (After) we should all have passed through this day, they would have returned to life and we would all of us go (together, we,) the two women and the two boys; but you made a mistake in regard to them. If any person dies, he will die for all time. This day you, Coyote, have brought it about thus. We should have brought those people² with us, we should all have gone homewards. And then Indians would always be doing thus, but then you made a mistake in regard to them. Whenever a person died, he would have come back home for the fall (and) the spring, but you made a mistake in regard to them. Never again will a person do thus; he is to die for all time and will not (again) be seen. Thus, Coyote, have you brought it about. Thus people will say, 'Coyote and Eagle went,

² That is, our wives and sons.

k!u'leye k!ma itcl'ínôn gackcugwa'lemam icta'gikal. Aga kxwó'pt isk!u'leye gatclu'mamôgwa; isk!u'leye qé'dau gali'xôx, iak!a'mela gali'xêlôx.'” Qé'dau iqxa'nutck.

10. EAGLE AND WEASEL.

Gactu'ya wadé'wadé k!ma itcl'ínôn; kxwó'ba gackcge'l-
 5 kel icgagi'lak. Kxwó'pt kē'nua gatciu'lxam itcl'ínôn wa-
 dé'wadé: “Nā'qx' amu'ya;” a'i gatciux. Mang í'axi
 gactu'ya. Aga kxwó'pt nikta' wadé'wadé, icgagi'lak nic-
 ge'ltateck. Kxwó'pt a'éxat gatcage'lga wadé'wadé; L!a'x^u
 gatcu'la'da agagi'lak. Aga kxwó'pt gacxe'lctmôq wí'lx
 10 silu'skwax. Quctia'xa iktié'na gayaba'xEM¹ aya'gikal gatca-
 ge'lga wadé'wadé. Aga kxwó'pt gatccu'wa. Aga kxwó'pt
 cpa'q gaqilctmô'q ayak!a'tcatcaba, qatgi lā'zi gaqilctmôq;
 wí'lx gali'xela; sāq^u ik!ma'kan gatci'ux gayaba'xEM.

Aga kxwó'pt gacgige'lkel aga tcwô't. Aga kxwó'pt
 15 k!wa'c gali'xôx wadé'wadé. Aga kxwó'pt gatcdilta'guix
 itk!a'lamadiēmt ipa^a't kxwó'ba; gactilka'pgix. Aga
 kxwó'pt gatctô'qcam tk!a'lamatpa gayaba'xEM; galuxwa'la-
 lalēmtck itk!a'lamat. Aga kxwó'pt gayugwô'ba wadé'-
 wadé; gatciu'ket. Gactige'lkel dalaula'u isí'axus, tk!a'lamat
 20 tcdú'qct. Aga kxwó'pt galixlu'xwa-it wadé'wadé: “KE-
 la'-ix p' aqiugwi'lXEMA ia'getcpa.” Aga kxwó'pt gactige'lga
 wadé'wadé ik!a'munak da'pt ia'lqt. Aga kxwó'pt gali-
 glu'ya lawā'; nā'wit galigemu'txuit.

Lawā' gatciugwi'lx; wí'tla gatciugwi'lx; wí'tla gatciu-
 25 gwi'lx; wí'tla gatciugwi'lx; wí'tla gatciugwi'lx. Aga kxwó'pt
 gayu'meqt gayaba'xEM. Aga kxwó'pt gatciu'lxam itcl'í-
 nôn: “Ag' iní'uwôq; ma'itla k!wa'c mkā'xax. Aga mti'
 'tketa'm aga yu'meqt.” Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya itcl'ínôn;

¹ A mythical monster said to look like an alligator (!).

went to fetch their wives. And then Coyote made a mistake in regard to them. Thus Coyote did, badly he did.'” Thus the myth.

10. EAGLE AND WEASEL.

Weasel and Eagle went along; there they saw two women. Then Eagle told Weasel, to no purpose (as it turned out): “Don't go (to them);” he assented (to him). They went on a little farther, and then Weasel ran off, ran after the two women. Then Weasel seized one of the women and knocked the woman over. And then the two heard the earth tremble. In truth, Eagle had seized the wife of a certain Gayaba'xEM.¹ And then he pursued them and made a terrible noise with his rattles, something like lāzi it sounded; the earth shook; all angered was Gayaba'xEM.

Now then the two saw that he was pursuing them. And then Weasel became afraid, and they went back towards the rocks, where there was a cave; they entered into it. And then Gayaba'xEM came and bit at the rocks; the rocks kept shaking. And then Weasel went out and looked at him. He saw how his eyes were shining, and how he was biting the rocks. And then Weasel thought: “When standing at his side, one could strike him on his nose.” So then Weasel took hold of a stick this long.² And then he slowly went up to him, straightway stood close to him.

Slowly he struck him; again he struck him; again he struck him; again he struck him; again he struck him. And then Gayaba'xEM died. Now then he said to Eagle: “I have killed him now; you for your part are still afraid. Now come! come here and look at him. He is dead now.”

² Indicated by gesture.

gatsí'k!elutk aga ga'nuit iu'meqt gayaba'xEM; aga gatci'uwôq wadē'wadē. Aga kxwô'pt gacgi'ucxux sā'q^u iap!a'skwal iaq!a'qctaq ayā'k!atcatca; sāq^u dadakda'k gacgi'ux wadē'wadē klma itcl'ínôn.

- 5 Aga kxwô'pt lla'k gactu'ya. Aga kxwô'pt galixENLÍ'tcu itcl'ínôn gayaba'xEM iap!a'skwal. Aga kxwô'pt gaqi'l'tcmôq qatgi la'-i ayak!a'tcatcaba. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim wadē'wadē: "Ganuitcā' ma'ika mcta'mx aga wí'tla ma'ik' ag' imxENLÍ'tcu. Na'ika ag' inxENLÍ'tcu wadē'wadē."
- 10 Qí'dau gatciulxam wadē'wadē. Aga kxwô'pt gatciulxam wadē'wadē: "Cma'ni nāq' amíneluda ayamuwa'gwa itcl'ínôn." Aga kxwô'pt gatciulxam: "Ag' ayamelu'da;" galixlu'xwa-it itcl'ínôn: "Ga'nuid axu'lal¹ iak!a'mela wadē'wadé. Aga ma'ika ag' imxENLÍ'tcu wadē'wadē."
- 15 kxwô'pt gatci'lut aga nixENLÍ'tcu wadē'wadē.

- Aga kxwô'pt gactu'ya; qē'gEMTq gayu'ya wadē'wadē, gayu'ya itcl'ínôn iä'ima. AgalixENLÍ'tcu wadē'wadē gaya'ba'xEM iap!a'skwal. Aga kxwô'pt lā'2i2 gaqi'l'tcmôq wadē'wadē. Qucti'axa galixELU'itcatk itcl'ínôn kxwobā'2
- 20 qiltce'melit wadē'wadē. Aga kxwô'pt nixe'luitcatk aga ca'xel qiltce'melit. Aga wí'tla nixe'luitcatk itcl'ínôn, ya'u'xiḡ nixEgilu'itcatk. Aga kxwô'pt nixlu'xwa-it itcl'ínôn: "Nāqx' itlu'ktiḡ iḡgoa'filḡ itcu'xiḡ idia'giutgwax." Aga kxwô'pt ⁶E'x gatci'ux ya'-u'xiḡ. Nā'wit gayu'lektcu wí'lḡba
- 25 wadē'wadē. Kxwô'pt da'k gatci'xux. Aga kxwô'pt ga'qiu'lḡxam wadē'wadē: "K!ā'ya ma'ika lq!ā'p da'uya wadē'wadē; da'ng' ixlū'ida(d) da'uya idia'lxē'wulḡ gayaba'xEM." Kxwô'pt da'k gatci'xux. Aga kxwô'pt gatci'uctx itcl'ínôn iêkē'xtē ipl'a'skwal.

- 30 Aga kxwô'pt gactu'y' iô'u'xiḡ. Kxwô'pt a'ga galixlu'xwa-it wadē'wadē: "Naqx' itlu'ktiḡ itcl'ínôn wí'tla itci'nx-

¹ Incorrect for ixu'lal?

So then Eagle went; he looked at him, and indeed, Gayaba'xEM was dead; now Weasel had slain him. And then they cut him up; everything (they cut off): his skin, his head, his rattle; everything Weasel and Eagle cut loose.

And then the two started off and went on. Now then Eagle put the skin of Gayaba'xEM over his head; so then he made a noise with his rattle something like la'i. And then Weasel said: "Well! you are a chief and again do you now put it over your head. Now I, Weasel, (shall) put it over my head." Thus Weasel said to him. And then Weasel said to him: "If you do not give it to me, I shall kill you, Eagle." So then (Eagle) said to him: "Now I shall give it to you." Eagle thought: "Truly Weasel says that he is bad." (To Weasel he said:) "Now do you, Weasel, put it over your head!" And then he gave it to him, and Weasel put it over his head.

Now then the two went on; Weasel went behind, Eagle went on alone. Now, Weasel had the skin of Gayaba'xEM over his head. And then Weasel made a noise: lā'2ī2. Truly Eagle listened, there yonder Weasel was making a noise. And then he listened and (Weasel) was making a noise above. And again Eagle listened, listened to his younger brother. And then Eagle thought: "It is not well that my poor brother be a person(?)." So then he exercised his supernatural power upon his younger brother. Straightway Weasel fell down to the ground. Then (Eagle) loosened the (skin) from him, and then Weasel was spoken to: "You are not fit for this, Weasel; this strong Gayaba'xEM is something different (from what is fit for you)." Then he loosened it from him. And then Eagle carried that same skin on his back.

Now then he and his younger brother went on. Then indeed Weasel thought: "It is not well that Eagle took it back again from me. Now I shall kill him." And

tckem; ag' aniuwa'gwa." Aga kxwó'pt gayu'ya wadé'wadé; iā'xiba gayu'la-it. Aga kxwó'pt gatcu'gwiga idiaga'matcx wadé'wadé; gayu'la-it i'nadix wí'xat. Aga kxwó'pt idia'maq gaqdi'lux itc!í'nôn. Kí'nua ia'maq gatci'lux; 5 na'qxi ia'maq gatci'lux. Gayu'ya plā'la itc!í'nôn. Aga wí'tla gatctugwa'lemam idiaga'matcx wadé'wadé. Aga wí'tla galigemlá'-itam. Aga wí'tla idia'maq gatcdi'lux í'alxt; wí'tla klā'ya ia'maq gatci'lux. Qē'dau gacxu'x itc!í'nôn k!ma wadé'wadé. Qē'dau iqxa'nutck.¹

11. THE FIVE EAST-WIND BROTHERS AND THE FIVE THUNDER BROTHERS.

(Told by Pete McGuff).

10 Łgwe'NEMIKC İxó'uxıkc wıka'q İxēla'-itıx kēla'-ıx İ'xtpa wı'lıx. Aga kxwó'pt galı'kim İxgō'qENKT: "Aga a'wımax ag' ayameglu'qıqa, anklı'naxLA qa'xb' uxwó'qt İde'lıxam. Qa'dac cma'nıx İtcıe'gōMENİİ ayamegatgwō'ma gwe'nema-
bāt İfgwō'max; cma'ni klā'ya qxu'ct amcxıLUXWA'-ıda,
15 'Aga qxa'tki nigı'xatx.'" — "A'-u," gałgı'uxwōx.

Lla'k gayu'ya. Yā'2it, gayagu'qxôm aq!ē'yòqt daXu'2b İtka'qıf. Kōbā' gayu'ppax; xā'x gaksı'k!elutkax; İēİqdı'x gā'n ctu'xt. Aga kxwó'pt gagıu'lıxamx: "Alā' İk!a'ckac!² da'n quct mıwa'lal?" — "Hı İnkı'naxı qa'xb' uxwó'qt İde'lı-
20 xam." — "A'-u," gagıu'xwax, "yā'xıb' uxwó'qt;" gagıxnı'ma-

¹ This is all that Louis Simpson knew of the myth, but it is by no means all of it. It was said to be more particularly a Clackamas myth, and to consist of a long chain of incidents located in the Willamette region. It corresponds doubtless, in a general way, to the Kathlamet "Myth of the Mink" (see Boas, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 103—117), the mink and panther of that myth corresponding to the weasel and eagle respectively of the Wishram version. A fragmentary account of

then Weasel went on; he sat down far away. And then Weasel took his arrows and sat down across from the trail. And then they were shot at Eagle. In vain he tried to wound him, he did not wound him; Eagle went on unharmed. Then again Weasel went to fetch his arrows and again went and sat down close to him. Now again he shot at his elder brother; again he did not wound him. Thus did Eagle and Weasel. Thus the myth.¹

II. THE FIVE EAST-WIND BROTHERS AND THE FIVE THUNDER BROTHERS.

The five East-Wind brothers were dwelling far away in a certain land. And then the oldest one said: "Now, O younger brothers! now I shall leave you, I shall seek to find where the people are assembled together. Mind you, if I am alive, I shall come back to you within five days; if not, truly you shall think to yourselves, 'Now something has happened to him.'" — "Yes," they said to him.

He started out on his journey. He goes and goes; he came to an old woman whose house was smoking. Therein he entered; she turned her head and looked at him; for a long time the two remain silent. And then she said to him: "O boy!² What, pray, are you journeying for?" — "Well, I am seeking to find where the people are assembled together." — "Yes," she said to him, "yonder they are assembled together;" she directed

the myth, obtained in broken English from another informant, contained the incident of a violent rain following upon the divulging by Weasel of the name of a certain place, confided to him, after much coaxing on his part, by the unwilling Eagle. The exact correspondent of this incident is to be found in the Kathlamet myth referred to, pp. 112, 113.

² In surprise.

xix u'lpqtyamt aga'fax. "Qa'dac ayamulxa'ma klā'ya qa'dag' uxwô'qt; sã'q^u ag' idē'lxam ĩkdu'lxu'mt kī'nuwa'q-cumax ĩxô'u'xike, ĩtegu'qt ĩgla'lam. Cma'nix yax' imxlu-xwan, 'Anu'meqt' aga,' yaxa mi'a. Qa'dac mxelqlā't
 5 klā'y' imigô'menil. Aga qxa'daga dnu'¹ ina'tkadix dac-gu'pqt idē'lxam. Qí'dau ia'im' iqxa'q^{ut} dí'ka." — "A'-u," gatcu'xwa, "hī da'xka qa'daga ndwa'lal."

Texā'b iôgô'it gwe'nemix; klā'y' idi'mam iliô'u'xikeba. ĩla'môkct gali'kim: "Ag' aniunaxla'ma ilxa'lxt. Qē'ne-
 10 giska yuk!wa'lalôqt? Palala'i ĩg' uxwô'qt." — "A'-u," gā-gi'uxôx iliô'u'xike. Ya'xt!a da'ukwa gatclu'lxam iliô'u'xike: "Gwe'nemabā'd ĩlgwô'mex antk!wa'lalaqwida." Da'ukwa ya'xt!a gayagu'qxôm aqlē'yôqt; da'ukw' axa-ilukfi'lal. Gwe'nem' ĩlgwô'mex yuk!wa'lalôqt. "Qē'negiska!" gali'-
 15 kim ĩla'lu'n, "palala'-i uxwô'qt. Na'it! ag' antcu'naxlama." Ya'xt!a da'ukwa yuk!wa'lalôqt; kxwô'ba quct ia'xt!a yagu-gômt aqlē'yôqt; da'ukwa gixnī'manix.

ĩlala'kt gali'kim: "Na'it!ax ag' anlu'naxlama." Da'ukwa gatciu'lxam ĩla'-uxix: "Cma'ni gwe'nemix antgu'ya quct
 20 klā'y' endi'mamx." Texā'p texāp gwe'nemix; klā'ya ma'nix iki'ax. Aga kxwô'pt gali'xē'lthwitck ĩxk!ē'skax. Gayu'ya ia'xt!a; iâ'zit; ĩqla'p gatci'ux isk!u'leye.

"Alā' ik!a'ckac! qxa'damt mu'it?" gali'kim isk!u'leye. "Hi nki'naxl qa'xb' uxwô'qt." — "Ga'nuitcā ĩka'la³ ĩk!u'n pu txa'ik' atxu'ya. Da'ukwa na'ika iqxa'q^{ut} iniu'naxl." —

¹ Aga qxa'daga dnu is difficult to translate adequately; qxa'daga ("for nothing, of no consequence") here implies the matter-of-course-ness, as it were, of the destruction of the people: "they just go right in, and are destroyed without further ado."

him towards the setting sun. "I shall just tell you that they are not assembled together for nothing. Now, the Thunder brothers have consumed all the people, they are singing their supernatural dance-song. If indeed you think to yourself, 'Now I am going to die,' then go! You will just find out that you are no longer alive. Now, surely indeed¹ the people go in one way.² Such alone is the assemblage here." — "Yes," he said to her, "just for that indeed am I journeying."

He camped over night five times; he did not come home to his brothers. The second (brother) said: "Now I shall go and look for our elder brother. How is it that he is absent? Perhaps many people have assembled together." — "Yes," said his younger brothers to him. He too said thus to his younger brothers: "I shall be away from home for about five days." He too, just as before, came to the old woman; just as before she tells him about the assemblage. He is away from home five days. "How is it!" said the third; "they are assembled in great numbers. Now I for my part shall go and look for the two." He too, just as before, was absent; truly he too comes there to the old woman; just as before she directs him.

The fourth said: "I for my part shall go now and look for them." Just as before he said to his younger brother: "If I shall have camped over night five times, then I shall not come home." Five nights passed; he does not appear. And then the youngest got ready. He too went; he goes and goes (until) he met Coyote.

"O boy! whither are you going?" said Coyote. "Well, I am seeking to find where they are assembled together." — "Well, friend! we two might very well go together. I

² That is, they do not return.

³ The use of *tka'la* (cf. masc. *ika'la*, "man") as "friend" is said to be a Wishram colloquialism, not recognized in other Upper Chinook dialects.

“QE’negi dnu ma’ika iaxa qwa’tk’ atxu’ya.” Aga kxwô’pt gactu’ya; ctâ’4it i’xtpa kela’-ix wi’xat; ctugogó’mt ide’lхам. Aga kxwô’pt gatctuxwí’mtck ide’lхам iskl’u’leye ługma’ ngi. A’-i gaqcu’x. Gałxcka’m wā’2pul. Gaqcu’tk; iaxa’la
 5 dā’kdak iskl’u’leye nu’it klā’ya dan idiak’i’tit.

Ka’dux wi’tla gactu’ix; gactu’yamx i’xtpô wi’tla wi’lx; adē’2 qucti’axa dnu da’uy’ uxwô’qt. Gaqiu’lхам iskl’u’-
 leye: “QE’negi mxlu’xwan da’n enegi qe’neg’ atxu’gwa?”
 — “A’-u hi da’negi itcq!wa’lacep łka’la qxada’tci sa’q” am-
 10 xemgi’tga.” Gactuxwí’mtck ide’lхам: “Cā’n antkta’ya?”¹
 Ğā’n galu’xwax iałqdí’x; gaqłge’lga ilgoa’filx qxa’tg’ ifa-
 kla’its ifadu’mt qucti’ax’ ikna’an. Gackta’x łaq! Gacta-
 gēlga’paxix; yā’2ima iskl’u’leye; gacdilda’tcôxwix iaq’i’xpa;
 gactigelga’-ulxix; iā’-im’ iskl’u’leye; klā’y’ ikna’an gaqi-
 15 gē’lgelx, dagapga’b ilgē’ninua; qucti’axa kxwô’ba tci’wat.
 Galu’gwakim ide’lхам: “Quct ilxu’łgu’xwit.”

Łamô’kct gactilda’tcuwxix; ctigelga’-ulxix; wi’tla da’u-
 kwa iā’-im’ iskl’uleye. Ifału’n wi’tla ia’-ima. Ifala’kt wi’tla
 da’-ukwa. Łagwe’nema gacdilda’tcuwxix; gacdigelga’-ul-
 20 xix; ag’ amā’ketike gaqa’gelgelx. Aga kxwô’pt ts!u’m
 nu’xwax ide’lхам; tqa’uadikę galu’gwagimx “Iskl’u’leye,”
 tqa’uadikę galugwagi’mx “Klā’ya! kna’an.” Aga cxda’t
 dagapga’b ilgē’ninua; gactawiga’pğemx ide’lхам. Kxwô’ba
 gaqixda’kwax iskl’u’leye; äct gacdu’xu’xwitx.

25 T!u klā’ya da’n aga wi’tla gactu’-ix klun’ i’xt wi’lхам.

¹ Literally, “Who we two shall run?”

also am seeking to find the assemblage." — "Just as you like! Let us then go together." And then they two went. They go and go on a certain trail far away; they come to people. And then Coyote challenged the people (to play) at gambling-bones. They agreed (to gamble with) the two. They gambled all night long. The two were beaten; his friend was deprived of everything, Coyote now had no clothes at all.

Next morning the two went on again; again they arrived in a certain land. Behold! truly indeed (people) were assembled together (at) this (place). Coyote was spoken to: "How think you, with what shall we two join in (in this assemblage)?" — "Oh, well! I am somewhat of a fast runner, friend, so that you will bet everything." They two challenged the people: "Who will run with me?"¹ For a long time the (people) were silent. A certain person was taken, rather small and tall, in truth, Magpie. He and (Coyote) ran there and back. Both started out to run fast; Coyote alone (was seen). They two ran down into a hollow; they ran up from out of it. Coyote alone (was seen); Magpie was not seen, (only) a cloud of dust (was seen); there truly he was following upon him. The people said: "It seems that we have been beaten."

The two ran down into a second (hollow); they run up out of it. Again, as before, Coyote alone (was seen). The third time again he was alone. The fourth time again as before. The fifth time the two ran down into a (hollow); they ran up out of it; now both of them were seen. And then the people got to disputing; some of them said "Coyote," some said "No! Magpie." Now the two are coming in a cloud of dust; they ran into the people. There Coyote was passed by; he and (his friend) lost.

Having absolutely nothing, the two now went on to a certain other village. "Well," said Coyote, "I shall try

- “Hi,” galigi’mx iskl’uleye, “wô’wôt’k! a’nxuxwa, ifu’gum’ anxcga’ma.” Aga kxwô’pt galigimx wikxa’q: “K!ma dansk’ a’g’ alitxmu’tka?” — “K!ā’ya lka’la,” gatciu’lɣamx, “a’lɛma itp!a’-isk’ ôqDENlu’da.”¹ Quctia’xa ya’xdau atc-
 5 tu’xw’² itp!a’-iskwa iku’mamax idiak!wa’xa, qa’ua daptsā-
 xɛmax, qa’ua dagā’cɛmax, qa’ua daɬbĒ’lɛmax gatcu’xwa. Q!wa’Lk gatctu’x idak!i’nuLmax itp!a’-iskwa. Gatclu’la-
 mitx;³ xa’bixix klā’ya tlama’-oac lktu’xt. Palala’i gac-
 xmu’tkax itp!a’-iskwa; gacgi’lkwax.
- 10 Ka’dux L!a’k gacdugi’daq!qax ide’lɣam. Gactu’-ix; i’xt
 w!lɣam ctā’it. Aga kxwô’pt iskl’uleye gali’kim: “Hi
 a’ga na’it!a ba’g anxu’xwa; iwa’d anu’y’ atpxia’mt aga’fax.”
 “A’-u,” gatci’ux, “na’it!a aga dn’⁴ iwa’d nu’it u’lpqtyamd
 aga’fax.” Kxwôbā’ ba’qx gacxlu’x.
- 15 Yā’zid wikxa’q; gatcô’gikel idak!a’its i’tq’hi xū’4p.
 Kxwôbā’ gayu’pgax; ā’2xt aq!ē’yôqt. Gagiulɣamx: “Da’n
 quct miwa’lal ik!a’ckac?” — “Hī qada’ga ngucgi’wal, iqxô’qt
 ni’unaxl.” Gagiulɣam: “Ia’-ima-ix iaxta’ba kxwô’ba wa-
 tce’lɣ kxwôb’ ôgwala’lam kENewa’qcumax lɣô’uxikc.” —
 20 “Da’xka ndwa’lal,” gali’kim. L!a’k gayā’y’ iwa’tga.

Gayu’pqax watce’lɣba; a’ga tcu’-ictix. Gayula’-itx tclā’m-
 dix; gatssuk!wi’tkax uxwolu’-imax ide’lɣam, lɣpāl lɣpāl ita’lq,
 sô’u sô’u sô’u sô’u sô’u uxwip!a’lawulal. Lɣaxāt galgiugum-
 tcxu’ga: “Da’n quct qE’negi miwa’lal?” — “A’-i nXeltce’-
 25 melit ugwala’lam di’ka uxwô’qt.” — “A’-u,” gali’kim ixa’t,
 “da’uyax yax igla’lam;” gaqē’lqd’ ixa’t. “Hē laxla’x

¹ Itp!a’-isk’ ôqDENlu’da is equivalent to itp!a’-iskw(a) aqDENlu’da.

² Literally, “Come-to-find-out that-one he-will-make-them.”

again; I shall gamble bones." And then the East-Wind said: "But what, pray, are we going to bet with?" — "No, friend," he said to him, "I shall be given blankets." As it turned out, that (Coyote) made the blankets out of the leaves of cottonwood-trees, some greenish, some yellowish, some reddish he made; he patched together blankets with colored decorations. He deceived them in regard to the (blankets); since it was dark, they did not see them clearly. Many blankets did the two stake; they won.

Next morning they started off and left the people behind. They went on; they go and go (up to) a certain village. And then Coyote said: "Well, now I for my part shall depart; yonder I shall go towards the rising sun." — "Yes," he said to him, "and I for my part, indeed, am going yonder towards the setting sun." There they parted from each other.

The East-Wind goes and goes; he saw a small house smoking. Therein he entered; an old woman was sitting (there). She said to him: "What, pray, are you, boy, journeying for?" — "Well, I am going about without particular purpose, I am seeking to find the assemblage." She said to him: "All by itself in that place, there is an underground lodge, there the Thunder brothers are singing." — "To them I am journeying," he said. He started off and went in that direction.

He entered the underground lodge; it was evening now. He sat down close to the wall; he looked at the strange-looking people with bodies all reddish; they were talking to one another in whispers. One of them asked him: "What, pray, are you journeying for?" — "Indeed, I hear that they are singing here, that they are assembled

³ GatcLu'lamiṭx is equivalent to gatctllu'lamiṭx.

⁴ Dn' is equivalent to dnu, "indeed."

tcmuxt; da'uyax yax ixa'd igla'lama." Ia'xt!a gali'kim:
 "K!ā'ya! dau'yax yax igla'lama." Kxwôpt qî'dau gaŋxɛn-
 guē'ananemtk.

Gatçu'lɣamx: "Kwê'lt kult meçla'lama." Aça gā'n
 5 iaŋqdi'x iɣila'-itix. Wā'x¹ gayutxui'tx ixa't: "A'-i 'k!a'ckac
 aça qwô'tk' angla'lama." Galigla'lama'tck ixuqxu'nkt; gwe'-
 nem' idla'lama'x gatçtu'x. Łôgwe'nemaba gatçtu'x da-
 tce'x+ nu'it watce'lɣ. Gayuŋa'-itx. Gayutxui't ɣamôkt;
 gali'gimx: "Qwôtkā' yaxa na'it! angla'lama." Galigla'-
 10 lama'tck; nā'wid datce'x+ aŋatce'lɣ. Łagwe'nema gatçtu'x;
 anu'it xū'4b itcqa'lit; p!alā' galixu'xwôx.

Ila'u'n gayu'txuit. Galigla'lama'tck; mank cpa'k gaŋxɛ'l.
 Łôgwe'nema gatçtu'x; anu'it xup xup xup xup gatçil-
 ga'lgulitu'mtkix. Ga'n gali'xwôx; sçiti'q klā'ya galu-
 15 xwa'xax itx^udli't. Gaŋxɛlu'tkax; yā'2xt kxwô'ba. Qatgi
 sa'u sa'u sa'u gaŋxɛlp!a'lawulama'tck: "Qxu'ct ya'xa
 ɣlu'-idet dau'fax iŋgoa'filx ɣa'tqwôm luwa'n qa'xba bama."
 Gatçu'lɣam: "Ska kult ku'lt emçdla'lama'tck; qatgi qi-
 kela'ix gamçdlala'mnintck; dal!ā' galixi'dlalit."

20 Wa'x² gayu'txuitx iŋala'kt. Galigla'lama'tck; nā'wid aça
 gatçilga'lgulitu'mtkix. Łagwe'nema gatçtu'x; sa'q^u watu'ŋ
 gala'xux aŋatce'lɣ. Gā'n gali'xôx. Gaŋxi'la-it iaŋqdi'2x;
 dal!ā'c gala'xux wa'tuŋ. Gaŋxɛlu'tkax; yā'2xt ik!a'ckac.
 Wi't!a sa'u sa'u sa'u gaŋxɛlp!a'lawulama'tck. Gatçu'l-
 25 xamx: "Kwa'lt kelt i'ax' aça tciç i'nxux; qēkela'-ix dal!ā'
 gamçdla'lama'niŋ."

¹ Wā'x has reference properly to the burning of fire, with which the Thunder brothers are associated. He rises slowly to his song like a fire starting in to

together." — "Yes," said one, "this one here sings;" a certain one was pointed to. "Well, he is lying to you; this one here sings." That one too said: "No! this one here sings." And thus they kept putting it off on one another.

He said to them: "Hurry up and sing!" Now for a long time they sit silent. One of them stood up slowly,¹ (saying): "Yes, boy, now indeed I shall sing." The eldest sang; five songs he sang. When he sang the fifth song, straightway the underground lodge became nice and warm. He sat down. The second one stood up; he said: "Now, indeed, I also shall sing." He sang; straightway their underground lodge warmed up. He sang the fifth song; immediately steam streamed up; he ceased.

The third one stood up. He sang; it got to be rather hot. He sang the fifth song; immediately it got to be burning here and there, smoke streaming up in different places. He became silent; after a little while the smoke disappeared. They looked; he is still sitting there. They talked to one another, somewhat like whispering: "It seems, indeed, that this person is different (from those that came before); he has come I don't know where from." He said to them: "Why, hurry up! start in singing! (One feels) rather comfortable (when) you keep singing; we were all sitting around nice and warm."

Quickly² the fourth one arose. He sang; straightway now it began to burn here and there. He sang the fifth song; their underground lodge was all fire. He became silent. They sat for a long time; the fire died away. They looked; the boy is still sitting. Again they talked to one another in whispers. He said to them: "Hurry up! now, indeed, I have become cold; (it was) comfortably warm (when) you were singing."

burn. It is not probable that the literal meaning of wāx is here lost sight of.

² Here wa'x denotes the opposite of "slowly rising," because of the short vowel.

Gayutxwi't iɣk!E'skax ɣagwe'Nema; aic galikfá'tgemx; watu'f gala-igE'lbaɣ yó'k^ucɣat. Galigla'lamtck, galigla'-lamtck, galigla'lamtck. ɣagwe'Nema gatcu'x; sa'q^u watu'f ga'laɣux. Ga'n galí'xux. Gigā' gatca'lgalq; gaɣagumfa'-
 5 itɣ iaɣqdí'2ɣ; da!ā'c galaxu'xwax. Gaɣsik!Elu'tkax; yá'2xt kɣwó'ba. Gaɣki'm: "Da'negi ɣlɣu'-idet iɣgoa'fɣɣ;" sa'u sau ɣɣelp!a'lawulal. Gatcu'lɣam: "Kwa'lt kult ia'xa mcxdla'lamtck." Gaɣki'm: "Aga kɣwó'pt incgla'lamtck."

"A'-u," gatcu'x, "na'it!ax angla'ma." A'-i gaɣgi'ux.
 10 Gayutxui'tɣ; na'wid datc'c+ wika'q. Gaɣgi'm: "Aɣq' antcuba'-iwa." — "K!ā'ya!" gatcu'lɣam, "bí'd ímexí'la-id." Gayu'tɣuit aqa'buditba. lamó'ket gatcu'x idla'lamax; cpa'g wika'q gayu'yix watce'lɣba. Ilalu'n gatcu'x; mank cpā'k gayu'yix. Ilala'kt gatcu'x; aga k!ā'ya pla'la gaɣ-
 15 xí'la-it. Aga gaɣɣli'wananemtck; anuí'd ika'ba galixu'-xwax, itanaɣ'q^uhíq^u gayugwanɣa'xítɣ. Lóɣwe'Nema gatcu'x idia'lalamax; sa'q^u ika'ba daq!apq!a'p galí'xóx. Kɣwóbā' gatc'f'lbo kENEWó'qcumax ɣɣóu'ɣikc.

Qatɣiaɣa'max dadakda'k gatcu'xwa watce'lɣ iɣk!E's-
 20 kax; galí'xpa. Qu'ctiaɣa qē'dau ɣktudí'nax ide'lɣam; lu'yameníɣ ɣagi'tkli kɣwóbā'xtaba¹ qɣoɣa'-imalit; kɣwóbā' tceɣga'lelq; kɣwóbā' líe'leɣtikc ɣɣa'-it. Gatcu'gwigax iɣaq!u'tcu; k!ū' gatcu'xwax; gayugwak!a'lakwax gwe'Nemix; sa'q^u gatceɣɣada'yugwa yā'xt' ifalgwí'lit. Pu ya'xtau
 25 sā'q^u gatcudí'na ka'Nemgwe'Nema kENEWó'qcumax da'uya wí'gwa pu k!ā'ya kENEWó'qcumax. K!anik!aní'2. K'a'dux a'lem' aga'ɣax alaxu'xwa yaxtadí'wi galí'xux gaɣxó'qbet kENEWó'qcumax kɣwó'dau ikɣa'q.

¹ Kɣwóbā'xtaba is equivalent to kɣwóba' ya'xtaba.

The fifth and youngest arose. He just took a breath, and fire darted out of his mouth. He sang, he sang, he sang. He sang the fifth song; everything became afire. He became silent. It burned continually; they sat by the (fire) for a long time; it died out. They looked at him; he is still sitting there. They said: "The person is something different;" they were talking to one another in whispers. He said to them: "Hurry up! start in singing now!" They said: "We have sung enough."

"Yes," he said to them, "I too shall sing." They consented to what he said. He arose; straightway an east wind (blew) nice and cool. They said: "We shall each of us go out for a short while." — "No!" he said to them, "sit quiet." He stood at the door. He sang the second song; an east wind blew strongly in the underground lodge. He sang the third (song); it blew stronger. He sang the fourth (song); now they did not remain quietly seated. Now they started to shift in their seats; straightway ice formed and icicles projected. He sang his fifth song; everything became congealed into ice. There the Thunder brothers froze.

Somehow or other the youngest broke through the underground lodge; he escaped from him. Truly thus they used to kill people; (whenever) onlookers arrived, they used to seat them there in that place; there they always burned; there his elder brothers had died. He took their bones and heaped them together; he stepped over them five times; they all came back to life in their proper likeness. If he had killed all five of the Thunder (brothers), there would be no thunder to-day. Story story. May the weather to-morrow be as it was when the Thunder (brothers) and the East-Wind came together.

12. EAGLE'S SON AND COYOTE'S SON-IN-LAW.

- Gatcu'cgam itcl'i'nôn iskl'u'leye aya'xan. Aga kxwô'pt gactu'fa-it ts!u'nus iê'iqdix. Aga kxwô'pt itca'wanb' itk!a'ckac gala'lta-it. Aga kxwô'pt gakt'u'xtum itk!a'ckac itka'la ia'xan itcl'i'nôn. Aga kxwô'pt gali'xq!o' itcl'i'nôn.
- 5 A'xt itq'hi'b' aya'gikal itcl'i'nôn. Aga kxwô'pt galaxtu'xwa-it: "Ag' anxk!wa'y' ag' anigelda'q!qqa itcl'i'nôn." Aga kxwô'pt gala'kt' agagi'lak. Naktā'2. Kxwôpt qwô'Ł gakt'u'x itk!a'ckac wi'xatba itcl'i'non ifia'xan. Na'kta nā'2-wit; naktā'-a-itam idiô'q!ba iskl'u'leye aya'xan.
- 10 Aga kxwô'pt ya'xta itcl'i'nôn gayu'yam itctô'q!ba; klā'y' agagi'lak. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kta wi'xatbā' itcl'i'nôn; gatcu'' agagi'lak aya'gikal; ni'kta wi'xatbā'2. Aga kxwô'pt gatc!gē'lkel,¹ qu'Ł iki'xax wi'xatpa ya'xan itcl'i'nôn; aya'xan iskl'u'leye qu'Ł gagi'ux itca'xan. Aga kxwô'pt !gā'p ga-
- 15 tcige'lga; da'k gatci'ux. Aga kxwô'pt gatci'uk! itk!a'ckac ya'xan itq'fia'mt. Aga kxwô'pt negu' gatci'ux. Aga kxwô'pt gayu'mt itk!a'ckac; gali'xôx idia!xē'wulx; yaga'it ika'la gali'xux.
- Yaḡa 'a'x iskl'u'leye aya'xan galu'ya. Nā'wit wa'limx
- 20 gala'xux. Gakt!gē'lg' itka'la itcl'i'nôn ā'gikal; ya'xliu ika'la itcl'ō'liḡen gatcu'cgam. Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'lḡam iskl'u'leye aya'xan: "Qē'negiska qxa'tgi muduksā'x a'ca, nā'qxi tci kxwôb' ifmi'xan nim!gi'taq!q?" Aga kxwô'pt gagi'u'lḡam wi'tcam: "Palala'' imik!a'mela iskl'u'leye; da'n'bama qxē'-
- 25 dau mxu'lal? Cma'nix p' itkxa'n pu nā'qxi nin!gi'taq!q." Aga kxwô'pt gali'xux idiaxemat!a'itutck iskl'u'leye ya'qcix aya'xan itca'gikal. Aga kxwô'pt gayugwida'leq!qxemet sā'2qu idē'lḡam; idiaxemat!a'itutck yaq!wa'lasup gali'xux.

¹ This should be gatcige'lkel; probably the narrator had the word itk!a'ckac ("child") in mind.

12. EAGLE'S SON AND COYOTE'S SON-IN-LAW.

Eagle married Coyote's daughter. And then they two dwelt for some time. And then a child was seated in her womb and she gave birth to a male child, Eagle's son. Now then Eagle went out hunting. Eagle's wife is sitting in the house. And then she thought to herself: "Now I will return homewards and leave Eagle behind." So then the woman ran away. She ran and ran. Then she hung the child, Eagle's child, up along the trail. Straightway she ran on, ran until she arrived at Coyote's house, (she being) his daughter.

And then that one, Eagle, arrived in his and (his wife's) house. The woman had disappeared. And then Eagle ran along the trail; he followed the woman, his wife; he ran along the trail. And then he saw the (child); Eagle's son is hanging up along the trail; Coyote's daughter had hung up her son. Now then he slowly took hold of him and released him. And then he took the boy, his son, with him to the house. And then he kept him to himself. Now then the boy grew up and became strong, a big man he became.

Now she, Coyote's daughter, had gone on. Soon she became a married woman. Eagle's wife took a husband; the man (who) married her was named Fish-Hawk. Now then Coyote said to his daughter: "How is it, daughter, that you are somewhat sucked? Did you not leave behind your child there?" And then she said to her father: "You are very wicked, Coyote; wherefore do you speak thus? If I had had a child, I should not have abandoned him." Now then Coyote's son-in-law, his daughter's husband, became a racer, and always left behind (in running) all the people; a racer, a fast runner, he became.

Aga gali'xux itclí'nôn ia'xan iaga'it ika'la. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim yakê'xtau itclí'nôn ia'xan: "Ag' alxu'ya lxa'itlik algiukcta'ma isk!u'LEYE ya'qcix." Aga kxwô'pt gatgi' ide'lxam dati'lx gatctu'kl' itclí'nôn ia'xan. Aga galu'yam
 5 qa'xb' isk!u'LEYE yu'xt. Gadixla'gwa wí'lxam, gaduxwa-lagwa itq'fí'max. Gaqí'ukl' ila'lik idiaxemat!a'itutck. Ýwi galu'xwax ide'lxam. Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'lxam isk!u'LEYE aya'xan: "QÉ'NEGISK' aca la'xi' ilka'la ifcta'mx" atqidi'wi ma'ika imi'lgwilit?" Kxwô'pt gagiulxam aya'xan: "Kxwô'pt
 10 aga, ga'n mxux! QÉ'NEGI qé'dau mxu'lal na'ik' ifkxa'n la'xia ifcta'mx?" Aga kxwô'pt pl'ala galu'xwax ide'lxam; aga gatqqu'i. K'a'dux: a'léma ackta'y' acxumt!a'iwitcgwa isk!u'LEYE ya'qcix: ila'lik.

Aga kxwô'pt gayutcu'ktix. Galu'gwakim: "Aga ac-
 15 kta'ya acxumt!a'iwitcgwa isk!u'LEYE ya'qcix: k!ma ila'lik." Ag' isk!uleYE gali'kim (*loud and beating his hips*):



Aga kxwô'pt gackt' a'ga isk!u'LEYE ia'qcix k!m' ag' ila'lik. Aga kxwô'pt gactugwí'lti. Aga kxwô'pt L!EP L!EP gali-xux itc!ō'ligēn. Kīnuā' gali'kta; dapô'm gayu'lēktecu;
 20 ⁶E'x gatci'ux itclí'nôn. Gayugita'qlq ila'lik. Aga kxwô'pt galugwaki'fk itclí'nôn idia'lxam.

Adati'lx ide'lxam gatctu'klam itclí'nôn. Aga kxwô'pt gatqqu'í itclí'nôn idia'lxam. K'a'dux: Aga kxwô'pt
 25 galuxwak!wa'yu. Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'lxam itclí'nôn idia'l-xam: "Sā'qu Lq!up Lq!u'p amtktu'xwa aga'matcx k!ma afa'xit da'ua wa'pul; — igu'liu amdu'xwa Lq!up Lq!u'p, da'u-

¹ Sapa- or Sipa- is sometimes used as a "high-sounding," apparently titular, prefix to the names of mythological characters. Compare the names of Coyote's

Now Eagle's son became a full-grown man. And then the same, Eagle's son, said: "Now let us go, let us also go and look at Coyote's son-in-law." So then the people went (whom) Eagle's son took along with him in great numbers. Now they arrived where Coyote was dwelling. They marched around the village, passed the houses. Jack Rabbit, a racer, had been taken along. The people looked about slowly. And then Coyote said to his daughter: "How is it, daughter, that yon man looking like a chief resembles you?" Then his daughter said to him: "Enough now, be quiet! How can you say thus, that yon chief is my son?" And then the people stopped (marching) and camped for the night. Next morning Coyote's son-in-law and Jack Rabbit are to run, are to race against each other.

And then daylight came. The people said: "Now the two of them, Coyote's son-in-law and Jack Rabbit, are to run, are to race against each other." And Coyote said: "Sir¹ Jack Rabbit, Jack Rabbit! Sir Jack Rabbit, Jack Rabbit!" Now then the two ran, Coyote's son-in-law and Jack Rabbit. And then it rained and Fish-Hawk became wetted through. He tried to run, but in vain; he fell right down, (for) Eagle exercised his supernatural power upon him. Jack Rabbit left him far behind. So then Eagle's people won out.

Many were the people that Eagle had brought with him. And then Eagle's people camped over night. It was morning. And then they all started to go home, and Eagle said to his people: "You shall cut to pieces all (their) arrows and bows to-night. — You, Mouse, will cut them to pieces; — you too likewise, Rat, will cut the arrows

four sons, p. 66. It is noteworthy that Jack Rabbit's name is here provided with the archaic *wi*-pronominal prefix, instead of the ordinary *i*-.

kwa ma'it!ax ala'kes lq!u'p lq!up amdu'xwa itga'matex
ala'xit." Qē'dau gatccu'l̘am itcl'ín̘n.

Aga k̘wô'pt x̘a'p gali'x̘wix. Aga k̘wô'pt gatciu'l̘-
xam igu'liu: "Aga cketa'm isklu'leye ia'qcix k!ma aya'xan
5 qa'xba gacxu'qlit." Aga k̘wô'pt gali'kt' igu'liu; gatccuke-
tam; a'ga gatccge'lkel. Nā'wit gali'kta; wi't!ax galiḡ-
da'gwa; nā'wit itcl'ín̘nba nikta'-a-itam. "Ag' incge'lkel
ya'xiba ctô'qiu." Ya'xk' itcl'ín̘n gali'kim: "Ag' antcu-
wô'gwa na'ika." Aga k̘wô'pt gayu'ya. Nā'wit gayu'ya;
10 galicgo'qxôm.

Aga k̘wô'pt gatcige'lga; ē'wi gatci'ux iaqxa'qetaq.
Aga k̘wô'pt lq!ô'p gatci'ux ia'tuk, dalq!ô'p nā'wit. Aga
k̘wô'pt gatcage'l̘g' a'xt!ax wa'yaq; ī'wi gatcu'xwa itca-
qxa'qetaq. Aga k̘wô'pt lq!ô'p gatci'ux itca'tuk dalq!ô'p
15 nā'wit. Aga k̘wô'pt gatcu'l̘am itcl'ín̘n: "Ma'ika yak!a'-
mela-ix' game'ntxa; k̘wô'b' ia'muwaq. Game'nluk nk!a'c-
kac. Aga k̘wô'pt qxwô'l game'ntxa wi-ixa'tba. Nā'cqi
gamengematxa'ulutkwaitek. K̘wô'ba wi-ixatba gamen-
la'da. Palala'' imik!a'mela." Aga gatccuwô'q. Aga
20 k̘wô'pt gatcuxiga'mit itctaqa'qctagôkc; gatccxi'ma; ga-
tcekl'itkiq; agā ctā'umeqt.

Aga k̘wô'pt k'a'dux galuxwi't̘witek ag' aluxwôk!wa'-
yuwa itcl'ín̘n idia'l̘am. Aga k̘wô'pt isklu'leye ya'xtax
gatcu'l̘am aya'xan: "Aga m̘gu'itk a'ca; ag' aliḡk!wa'ya
25 itcl'ín̘n ia'xan icta'm̘." Aga k̘wô'pt galuxwi't̘witek.
Aga k̘wô'pt gadixla'gwa-ix' itcl'ín̘n idia'l̘am. Aga
k̘wô'pt isklu'leye gatcu'l̘am aya'xan: "Aga mxle'tck,
si'klelutk ma'it!a itcl'ín̘n ia'xan." Wi't!a gadixla'gwa-ix'.
Ḡwe'nemix' gadixla'gwa-ix'. Aga k̘wô'pt gatgi'' ide'l̘am.
30 Aga k̘wô'pt gatccu'qxutck isklu'leye aya'xan ia'qcix'.
Kanauwā'2 gacxla'lalemtck. Aga k̘wô'pt l!a'g gatccu'x.

and bows to pieces." Thus Eagle spoke to the two of them.

And then it became dark. Now then he said to Mouse: "Now go and look for Coyote's son-in-law and his daughter, where they are accustomed to sleep." And then Mouse ran off, he went to look for them, then caught sight of them. Straightway he ran and came back again; straightway he came running to Eagle, (and said:) "Now I have seen the two, they are sleeping yonder." He, Eagle, said: "I am going to kill them now." And then he went off. Straight on he went (until) he got to the two.

And then he caught hold of (Fish-Hawk) and turned his head about. And then he cut his neck, cut it right through. Then he caught hold of his mother too, and turned her head about. And then he cut her neck, cut it right through. Now then Eagle said to her: "You acted badly towards me, that is why I have killed you. You carried me when I was a child, and then hung me up on the trail. You did not take pity on me, (but) there on the trail you threw me away. You are very wicked." Now he had killed the two. And then he stuck their heads on to their (bodies); he laid them down and covered them over. Now they two are dead.

And then in the morning Eagle's people got ready, and were all about to go home. And then that Coyote said to his daughter: "Now wake up, daughter! Now Eagle's son, the chief, is about to go home." And then Eagle's people got ready to go, and passed around him. Now then Coyote said to his daughter: "Now arise, do you too look at Eagle's son!" Again they passed around him. And then the people went off. Now then Coyote (tried to) wake up his daughter and his son-in-law. They kept shaking and shaking. And then he saw

Aga kxwô'pt gatcçe'lkel Lq!up Lq!u'p itcta'tuk aga ctâ'umeqt.

Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Ga'ngadix inxi-luxwan nâ'qxi qxa'daga nigiti itcl'nôn ia'xan. Qxa'tgi
5 da'negi gagitxā' dala'a'x p' a'xka itca'xan qxa'dagatci itcu'wôq itca'xan. Aga da'uya wi'gwa inxeleqta'xit." Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim isk!u'leye: "Tca! ag' amtgu'gwiga idemdaga'matex ifemda'a'xit ag' alxdi'naya." Kxi'nua gaqxu'gwiga itga'matex kxwô'dau ala'xit. Klā'ya dan ala'xit
10 icgale'pqtit; klā'ya dan itga'matex itga'piq; klā'ya dan idalapt!a'lamax ida'xamilqdit.¹ Sa'q^u gatcxe'lemux xa'bixix igu'liu kxwô'dau ala'kes. Qē'dau itklā'nī.

13. THE DESERTED BOY.

Gā'ngadix galgiu'lxam ik!a'ckac: "Ag' alxu'ya ilke'nekc." Yak!a'mel' ik!a'ckac. Aga kxwô'pt galki'm: "Ag'
15 amcgIU'kla ilke'nekc." Aga kxwô'pt galklu'lxam: "A'lema kxwô'b' amcxigidwôqlxa." Aga kxwô'pt gwôp gô'p gatgi' ide'lxam wi'ma'pa. Galuyā'2; galu'yam ilke'nekcba. Aga kxwô'pt Lq!u'p Lq!up galklu'x. Aga kxwô'pt galki'm: "Cma'nix a'lema ik!a'ckac aligi'ma, 'Mckā'xax tci?' a'lem'
20 amcgIU'xwa 'ū'."2

Aga kxwô'pt galxwô'tck; nā'wit galxwô'a-item; nā'wit gwô'p galu'ya. Klā'ya dan ifgoa'hilx gi'gat; sā'q^u i'nadix. Aga kxwô'pt ya'xt' ik!a'ckac gali'kim: "Ag' alxk!wa'yuwa." — "Ū'," galgi'ux ilke'nekc. Kīnuā'2 galiklī'naxltck;
25 klā'y' ifgoa'hilx. Aga kxwô'pt gali'xk!wa ya'xt!a; gate-lu'wa qxē'gēmtgix ya'xt!a; nikta'ia-itam aga klā'y' ide'l-xam. Aga kxwô'pt gali'ktcax ik!a'ckac. Aga kxwô'pt

¹ Both this and the preceding word mean "their arrow-heads" without apparent difference in meaning.

that their necks were cut through, and that they were dead now.

And then Coyote said: "Before now I was thinking that Eagle's son had not come for nothing. Perhaps she has somehow done something (wrong) to her son, so that her son killed her. Now to-day I have found out." And then Coyote said (to his people): "Well! Now do you get your arrows and your bows and we shall fight." The arrows and the bows were gotten, but to no purpose. None of the bows had its bowstring, none of the arrows had its feathers, none of them had their arrow-points. Mouse and Rat had eaten them all up at night. Thus the myth.

13. THE DESERTED BOY.

Some time long ago the (people) said to the boy: "Now let us go for reeds." The boy was (considered) bad. So then they said: "Now you people shall take him along (when you go for) reeds." And then they said to them: "You shall abandon him there." So then the people all went across the river. They went on and arrived where the reeds were. And then they cut off the reeds and said (to them): "If the boy says, 'Are you people still there?' you shall answer him, 'Ū'."²

And then they all ran off; straight home they ran, went right across the river. No person at all (was left) on this side; they were all on the other side. And then that boy said: "Now let us all go home!" — "Ū," said the reeds to him. He looked about long, but in vain; there was nobody. And then he too started to go home, he too went following behind them; he ran until he arrived (at the river), but there were no people to be seen. So

² Rather high pitch.

galixE'ltemôq: "L! L! L!" Aga kxwô'pt ē'wi gali'xux isi'a-xuspa; gasi'xELutk. Gatcu'natx ilié'lôqctq. Aga kxwô'pt ts!ū'2nus gatca'gELkel wa'tuŋ waŋtki'ba. Aga kxwô'pt yaka'xtau gatcage'lga watu'ŋ. Aga kxwô'pt galixELki'ŋx.

- 5 Aga wi'tla gatcage'lkel amu'tan; wi'tla ts!u'nus aki'xax. Nā'wit gatcage'lga. Aga wi'tla gayu'ya ik!wa'yatba; gatcage'lkel gwe'nema waqxa't.¹ Aga kxwô'pt galixŋ'xwa-it: "Agwôfi'layax akk!i'c igangelu'tk waqxa't kxwô'dau wa'tuŋ iga'ngELutk akk!i'c; kxwô'dau akcki'x' iga'ngELutk amu'tan."
- 10 Aga kxwô'pt gatssu'x isE'nqxoq ik!a'ckac kxwô'dau idla'x^u-tat iŋa'n' ENegi gatcu'x. Gayuxugwi'tkiq itkna'anukc. Aga kxwô'pt gadixu'tek^ut. Kxwô'pt isma'sEN gatssu'x ENeg' ikna'an iap!a'skwal. lq!ā'b gasixE'ldi; wi'tla gali-xo'qcit wi'tla gasi'xtkiq.

- 15 Aga kxwô'pt nixenk!a'nqxut; gatcut!a'b' a-ix't ak!a'daqxi. Ā'nad lu'qx gatcu'xwa; ā'nad na-ix'lu'tk. Witla k'a'dux lu'qx gatcu'xwa ā'nat. Aga wi'tla nixenk!a'ngutam. Gatcut!a'ba mô'ket; a'-ix't lu'qx gatcu'xwa; a'-ix't gala-ix'lu'tk. Witla k'a'dux a'-ix't lu'qx gatcu'xwa. Aga wi'tla ka'dux
- 20 nixenk!a'ngutam. Gatecut!a'ba lu'n ick!a'daqxi; lu'qx gatcu'xwa a'-ix't ak!u'n ci'tlix'; wi'tla ka'dux a'-ix't ak!u'n ci'tlix' lu'qx gatcu'xwa. Aga wi'tla galixenk!a'ngutam; gatecut!a'ba la'kt ick!a'daqxi. Mô'ket lu'qx gatecu'x mô'ket gaci'xELutk; k'a'dux lu'qx gatecu'x sā'qu aga mô'ket.
- 25 Aga wi'tla nixenk!a'ngutam iŋagwe'nEMix'; aga galixenk!a'nqxut ik!a'ckac ŋagwe'nEMix'. Aga yaga'if ika'la gali'xux.

Aga kxwô'pt i'2wi gatssu'x isi'ênqxoq; qucti'axa pā'2ŋ ats!E'pts!ep² a'lgixt aqx^uta'nba. Gatcutxemi't wi'lxba. Aga

¹ Known generally as "wappatoo."

then the boy cried. And then he heard (something sound): "L! L! L!" And then he turned his eyes and looked; he dried his tears. Now then he caught sight of a wee bit of fire in a shell. And then that same (boy) took the fire and built up a fire.


And further he caught sight of some string; also of that there is only a little. Straightway he took it. And further he went to the cache and saw five "Indian potatoes."¹ And then he thought: "My poor paternal grandmother has saved for me the 'Indian potatoes,' and my paternal grandmother has saved for me the fire; and my maternal grandmother has saved for me the string." And then the boy made a fish-line and he made a trap out of the string. He set his trap for magpies and then trapped them. Then he made a magpie-skin blanket out of magpie's skin. He put it nicely about himself; also (when) he went to sleep, he wrapped himself nicely in it.

And then he fished with hook and line and caught one sucker. Half of it he consumed, half he saved for himself. Next morning he consumed also the other half. Then he went to fish again and caught two (suckers); one he consumed, and one he saved for himself. Next morning again he consumed the other one. Now next morning he went to fish again and caught three suckers. One and a half he consumed; next morning again he consumed the other one and a half. Then again he went to fish and caught four suckers. Two he consumed, two he saved for himself. Next morning he consumed two all up. Now again he went to fish for the fifth time; the boy had now fished five times. He had now become a full-grown man.

And then he turned to look at his fish-line; behold! ground roasted fish² was contained [brimful] in a hollow

² Ats!E'pts!Ep was a mixture of dried fish and pieces of flesh mashed up fine and kept in fish-oil.

k̄wô'pt galigla'lamtek ikla'ckac. Aga k̄wô'pt ka'nauw' ēde'l̄xam tkli' gatgi'ux. Aga k̄wô'pt galu'gwakim: "Qē'ne'g' igi'xux?" Qucti'axa k!wan k!wa'n galixux gatcut!a'-baba ats!ē'pts!ēp. Qē'dau galigla'lamtek: ¹

5  "A - tsē' a - tsē' ga - sen - gat - kla - gwā'x gas - ktē - na - k!wā'st."

Qucti'axa gaga'-iluqxwim itc!ē'xyan ² aya'xan wa'liq.

Aga k̄wô'pt gayu'qxui ikla'ckac la'ktix'; lagwē'nemix'ba gayu'qxui. Aga k̄wô'pt galixgo'-itk; ilgagi'lak ctôqxi'u. Palala' itlu'kti ilgagi'lak; ala'nalxat itca'lqdx k̄wô'dau
10 ifaska'gēmax nā'wid daptma'x ila'xuba k̄wô'dau iqwi'a-qwiamax iflu'xt ila'kcēnba pā'lmax; k̄wô'dau i'tq'li sa'qu idak!i'nu'lmax ³ gigwa'ladamt gatcu'guikel; k̄wô'dau gatc!-gē'lkel itcwo'qcu itcektgi'qxux' ka'nactmôket aya'gikal. Qucti'axa a'xtau itc!ē'xyan aya'xan gaga'-ilôqxwim; k̄wô'-
15 dau pā'l itguna't k̄wô'dau ifna'gun k̄wô'dau watsu'iha k̄wô'dau aga'kwal, ka'nauwē dan pā'l gagiuk'lam. A'ga gatcu'cgam.

Aga gaktu'x itlxlēm agagi'lak; aga k'a'dux ya'xtau gayutcu'ktix. Aga gacdu'la-it plā'la wi'gwa; aga gactu'-
20 la-it ya'lqdx'. Aga k̄wô'pt galixô'xwix' ga'uaxēmdix'. Aga k̄wô'pt galuxwiq'la'xit ide'l̄xam. Aga k̄wô'pt gactu'ya gwô'p aya'klic k̄wô'dau aya'ckix' nā'wit idiô'ql̄ba. Aga k̄wô'pt galixlu'xwa-it: "Itcta'giutgwax icq!ē'yôqt. Da'ukwa na'ika gackēngematxa'ulutkwaitck a'kklic k̄wô'-
25 dau akeki'x'." Aga k̄wô'pt gatcē'luqxwim; gatctēlu't itguna't icq!ē'yôqt k̄wô'dau ifna'gun gatctēlu't. Aga k̄wô'pt gacxk!wa' icq!ē'yôqt; gwô'p gactu'ya.

¹ He sang while waving the blanket over his shoulders. The song is repeated several times.

² The Merman (see pp. 41-43) was the guardian of the fish-supply. Compare Chinook its!xiā'n ("gambler's protector").

vessel. He stood it up on the ground. And then the boy sang. Now then all the people were looking on at him, and then they said: "What has happened to him?" Truly, he became glad because he had caught ground fish. Thus he sang:¹ "Atsē', atsē'! my feathered cloak waves freely over me." In truth, it was Itc!E'x̄yan's² virgin daughter that had given him to eat.

Now then the boy had slept four nights; he slept through the fifth night. And then he awoke; a woman was sleeping with him. Very beautiful was the woman. Her hair was long, and she had bracelets reaching right up to here on her arms,³ and rings were on her fingers in great number; and he saw a house all covered with painted designs inside; and he saw a mountain-sheep blanket covered over both of them, him and his wife. Truly, that woman was Itc!E'x̄yan's daughter, (and) she had given him to eat; and plenty of "Chinook" salmon and sturgeon and blue-back salmon and eels, plenty of everything, she had brought. Now he married her.

Now the woman made food, and it became daylight that morning. Then the two remained together quietly all day, and they remained together for a long time. And then spring came. And then the people found out (that he lived with her). So then his paternal grandmother and his maternal grandmother went across the river straight to his house. And then he thought to himself: "The two old women are poor. Thus also on me did my paternal grandmother and my maternal grandmother take pity." So then he gave the two of them to eat; he gave the old women salmon, and he gave them sturgeon. And then the two old women started home; they went across the river.

³ Indicated by gesture.

⁴ This word is used indifferently of painted and basket designs.

Yałqdi'x· kxwô'ba gacxu'x. Aga kxwô'pt idwô'tca galu'xwax; galu'gwakim: "Â² itgu'nat lga'blad ikla'ckacba kxwô'dau ifna'gun la'blat kxwô'dau aga'kwal kxwô'dau watsu'iha." Ag' iltga' ts!u'nus ts!u'nus. Klā'ya dan itlx-
 5 le'm idelxa'mba; wa'lu ktu'xt ide'lxam. Aga kxwô'pt galu'gwakim ide'lxam: "Alxa'itlike alxu'ya ikla'ckaciamt." Aga kxwô'pt wi'tla gwô'p gactu'ya cta'niwad aya'klic aya'ckix. Aga kxwô'pt q!oā'b itq^ui'ba. Aga kxwô'pt gatgi' ide'lxam gwô'p adati'lx ikla'ckaciamt.

- 10 Aga kxwô'pt i'wi gali'xux ikla'ckac; gasi'xelutk; gac-
 tcu'guikel palala'i ide'lxam gwô'p tgi't ikni'mba. Aga
 kxwô'pt galixlu'xwa-it: "Nāqx' itlu'ktix· da'ukwa na'ika
 gałxange'lewôqlq." Kxwô'pt aga gatci'ux ika'q; tpa'g
 ika'q gali'xux kxwô'dau iltga' gałxu'x. Sa'q^u galuxwa-
 15 la-it itecqô'ba; tcxa' gatgi' ide'lxam. Yak!a'mela-ix¹ ga-
 lixlu'xwa-it ikla'ckac: "Da'ukwa na'ika gałge'ntx; gał-
 xange'lewôqlq." Aga wi'tla gwô'p gatgi'a itkl'u'na-itc.
 Aga wi'tla da'ukwa gatclu'x; ika'q idiałxē'wulx gayu'ya
 kl'm' ag' iltga' gałxu'x. Aga wi'tla galuxwa'la-it; mô'ktix·
 20 galuxwa'la-it ide'lxam. Aga cta'im' icqē'yôqt gałxi'la-it.
 Qxē'dau itk!a'nī.

14. COYOTE AND DEER.²

Gayuyā' sklu'leye; nā'wit gayu'yam itc!a'nkb' idiô'qt.
 Aga kxwô'pt ctá'2xt. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim iskl'u'leye:
 "Ag' anxklwa'ya." A-u gatci'ux itc!a'nk. Aga kxwô'pt
 25 gatcage'lg' aqlē'wiqxē; a-ilq!oā'2b³ gatci'ux igē'wôk
 ia'lqba. Aga kxwô'pt gaqxi'lud iskl'u'leye. Kxwô'dau

¹ That is, without pity, with sinister thoughts.

² This myth is perhaps only an incident in a longer tale of Coyote as unsuccessful imitator of the host. Compare Farrand, *Traditions of the Quinault Indians*, pp. 85—91, especially pp. 87, 88.

For a long time they were there. And then the story got about, and (the people) said: "Oh! there is much salmon and plenty of sturgeon and eels and blue-back salmon at the boy's." Now snow (had begun to fall) gently, gently. There was no food among the people; the people were hungry. And then the people said: "Let us too go to the boy." Now then his paternal grandmother and his maternal grandmother again went across the river first. And then (they got) close to the house. And then a great many people went across the river to the boy.

Now then the boy turned his head and looked; he saw the people crossing in a canoe in great numbers. And then he thought to himself: "It was not well thus (when) they abandoned me." Then, indeed, he caused an east wind to arise; a strong east wind arose and there was snow. All died in the water, the people were drowned. Badly¹ the boy thought to himself: "Thus they did to me, they abandoned me." And again others went across the river. And then also he treated as before; a strong wind blew, and snow arose. And again they died; twice the people died. And only the two old women remained. Thus the myth.

14. COYOTE AND DEER.²

Coyote went on and on; straightway he arrived at Deer's house. And then the two of them sat and sat. And then Coyote said: "Now I shall go home." — "Yes," said Deer to him. And then he took a knife and just cut off a piece of meat from his body. And then it was given to Coyote. And he also stuck in a piece of wood

³ a-i- denotes the case with which the cutting was done; the over-long ā in 1.q!oā'2b implies the continuous slice-like character of the cut.

icia'getcb' ikla'munaq galixelu'qkwatch. Aga kxwô'pt galige'lb' ifia'gawulqt; pã'zł atli'wat. Aga kxwô'pt iskl'u'leye gaqli'lut. Aga kxwô'pt itq'fia'mt galixk!wa'.

- Aga witlã'2 gayu'y' iskl'u'leye; nã'wit aga wit' itcl'a'nkba.
- 5 Aga witla lq!u'p gatci'ux igē'wôk ia'iqba; witla gaqli'lut igē'wôk iskl'u'leye. Kxwô'dau witla icia'getcb' ikla'munaq galixelu'qkwatch; galige'lb' ifiaga'wulqt; pã'zł atli'wat. Aga witla iskl'u'leye gaqli'lut. Aga kxwô'pt gatciu'lxam itcl'a'nk iskl'u'leye: "Cma'ni pu wa'l' agmu'xwa p' amdi'a
- 10 naika'ba." A'-u gali'xux iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim iskl'u'leye ia'xtlax: "Itlu'ktiḡ amdi'a na'ikaba ma'itlax." A'-u gatci'ux: "Ag' anu'ya na'itla iskl'u'lyeb' idmi'qł;" qē'dau gatciu'lxam.

- Aga kxwô'pt gayu'y' itcl'a'nk iskl'u'lyab' idiô'qł ya'xtla; nã'wit gayu'yam. Aga kxwô'ba plã'la gayu'fa-it itcl'a'nk. Aga kxwô'pt galixlu'xwa-it iskl'u'leye: "Aga ya'xtlax igē'wôk anilu'd' itcl'a'nk ts!u'nus." Aga kxwô'pt gatcage'lg' a'gikal gatcaxi'matcu wi'lḡba. Aga kxwô'pt lq!u'p gatcu'xwa; kxwô'pt gacaxelqilx agagi'lak. Kxwô'pt gats-
- 20 su'ben' itcl'a'nk; kxwô'pt gatci'ulxam: "Plã'l' ax' aga-gi'lak. Na'ik' aya'melud' igē'wôk." Aga kxwô'pt a-lq!oã'b gatci'ux igē'wôk ia'iqba; kxwô'pt gaqxi'celut igē'wôk iskl'u'leye aya'gikal. Kxwô'dau ifga'wulqt icia'getciamt gatcl'u'x; gatcl'celu't ifga'wulqt iskl'u'leye aya'gikal.
- 25 Aga kxwô'pt gali'xk!w' itcl'a'nk idiô'qliamt. Aga kxwô'pt gatceu'lxam: "Cma'ni pu wa'l' agemdu'xwa p' amdu'ya na'ikaba."

- Kxwô'pt gagiu'lxam agagi'lak: "Imikla'mel' iskl'u'leye. Nã'cqxi na'it' itcl'a'nk. Ya'xtau si'kl'elutk itcl'a'nk; kã'nauwē can lu'qx ałgiu'xwa ia'gēwôk. Nã'cqxi na'ik' itlu'kt' itegē'wôk. Da'ukwa ma'ik' iskl'u'leye mxlu'idet, mgoa'filḡ iskl'u'leye; nã'qxi pu can lu'qx ałgiu'xw' imigē'wôk. Qē'dau alugwagi'm' ide'lḡam, 'fme'meluct ia'flem iskl'u'leye."
- 30

into his nose. And then his blood flowed out; the bucket was full. And then it was given to Coyote. Now then he went home to the house.

Now once more Coyote went, and again (came) straight to Deer. And again he cut off a piece of meat from his body; again the meat was given to Coyote. And again he stuck in a piece of wood into his nose; his blood flowed out; the bucket was full. And again it was given to Coyote. And then Deer said to Coyote: "If ever you should be hungry, you should come to me." Coyote assented. And then Coyote, on his part, said: "It is well that you, on your part, should come to me." He said "yes" to him: "I, on my part, shall go to your, Coyote's, house." Thus he spoke to him.

And then Deer, in turn, went to Coyote's house; straightway he arrived. Now there Deer was sitting quietly. And then Coyote thought to himself: "Now I, in turn, shall give a little meat to Deer." So then he seized his wife and laid her down on the ground. And then he cut her, whereat the woman burst into tears. Then Deer jumped up and said to him: "Let the woman alone. I shall give you meat." So then he just cut off a piece of meat from his body; then the meat was given to Coyote and his wife. And he caused blood to come out of his nose and gave the blood to Coyote and his wife. And then Deer started off home to his house. And then he said to the two: "If ever you two should be hungry, you should go to me."

Then the woman said to (Coyote): "You are wicked, Coyote. I am not Deer. Look at that Deer; everyone will swallow his meat. My meat is not good. Likewise you, Coyote, are different; you, Coyote, are a person. No one would ever eat your meat. Thus people will say, 'Coyote is an eater of dead things.'"

15. COYOTE AND SKUNK.¹

Ipli'cxac iô'uxix iskl'u'leye. Aga kxwô'pt iatege'mem gali'xux ipli'cxac. Aga kxwô'pt gatciu'lxam iskl'u'leye: "A'wi ag' aqxemgi'la-ida. Aga'nuid anige'lgay' idia'gēwam; anige'lgay' icka'lax, aniulxa'm' alimgi'la-ida." Aga
 5 kxwô'pt gatctu'lxam ide'lxam iskl'u'leye idakligô'ugôu: "Ag' ayugwi'la-id' icka'lax." Aga kxwô'pt gatclge'lg' ittek!wí'an. Aga kxwô'pt gatclí'lux iaq!a'itsgelitb' ipli'cxac. Kxwôpt a'ga gayugwi'la-it icka'lax. Aga kxwô'pt gali'kim icka'lax: "Klā'y' iatege'mem ia'iqba, sa'q' ia'im' iawa'nba."
 10 Qucti'axa la'im' ifia'qlitexa aya'qxucqxuc iawa'nb' ipli'cxac.

Kxwôpt gali'kim iskl'u'leye: "Ag' algiu'kla la'xenix iteu'x'ix, alixu'nudama." Aga kxwô'pt gatctu'lxam: "Ka'nauwi ē'wi amcgiubu'nategwa; amcgigē'lg' iapu'tcba." Aga kxwô'pt gaqiu'kctpa. Aga kxwô'pt gatclge'lg'a; telu'x
 15 gatclí'xux ittek!wí'an. Aga kxwô'pt gala-ixelqxu'cqxuc ipli'cxac. Aga kxwô'pt sa'q' galuxwô'la-it idakla'itsax itstela'nk. Aga kxwô'pt iskl'u'leye gayu'pga. Aga kxwô'pt i'wi iwi gatctu'x itstela'nk idakla'itsax. Adapxli'umax gactu'gwig' iskl'u'leye sa'q'; gactu'gwig' ipli'cxac sa'q' tkl!ē'li-
 20 yuxt. Aga kxwô'pt gatciu'lxam iskl'u'leye: "Daukw' a'ga ma'ik' ipli'cxac ifmiq'ēyô'qtike klā'y' ifa'klaxc ipxli'u. Na'ik' iskl'u'leye itkq!ē'yô'qtike ifa'xlēm ipxli'u."

Aga kxwô'pt wí'tla gactu'la-it; plā'la gatcxe'lemux itgē'wòk. Ag' ia'iqdix' gactu'la-it. Aga wí'tla iatege'mem
 25 gali'xux ipli'cxac. Aga wí'tla gatculxa'mam iskl'u'leye ide'lxam itstela'nk idaga'ifax. Wí'tla da'ukwa gacxu'x. Aga wí'tla iatege'mem gali'xux ipli'cxac. Aga wí'tla gatc-

¹ Compare Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 79-89, where ip'ē'cxac (= *Wishram* ipli'cxac) is translated as "badger." The *Kathlamet* story, however, would seem to apply better to the skunk than to the badger; and it is possible, as confidently

15. COYOTE AND SKUNK.¹

There were Coyote and his younger brother Skunk. Now then Skunk got sick. And then Coyote said to him: "Brother, now you will be doctored. Surely, I shall get a medicine-man; I shall get Raven, I shall tell him and he will doctor you." And then Coyote told the people (who were to act as) drummers to beat time: "Now Raven is going to doctor." And then he got some pitch and stuck it up into Skunk's rectum. Then indeed Raven doctored. And then Raven said: "He is not sick in his body, it is all in his belly alone." In truth, Skunk had only excrement and discharges of wind in his belly:

Then Coyote said: "Now let us take my younger brother outside, he will go to urinate." And then he said to them: "All of you will go and slowly lift him up, you will take hold of him by his anus." So then he was carried out. And then (Coyote) took hold of the (pitch); he pulled out the pitch from him. And then Skunk discharged wind. And then the small deer all died. Now then Coyote went out. And then he closely examined the little deer. Coyote took all the fat ones, Skunk took all the lean ones. And then Coyote said to him: "Just so, indeed, your ancestors, O skunk, were not fond of fat; my, Coyote's, ancestors were eaters of fat."

And then the two of them lived together again; the pieces of meat they ate in quiet. Now they lived together for a long time. And again Skunk got sick. And again Coyote went to tell the people, the big deer. Again the two of them did as before. And again Skunk got sick. And again Coyote went to tell the people, the

affirmed by my interpreter, that there is here an error on the part of the Kathlamet informant. Skunk is *ap'le'sxas* in Kathlamet.

antelopes. Again the two of them did as before. And again Skunk got sick. And again Coyote went to tell the people, the wild mountain-sheep. And again the two of them did as before.

For the fifth time Skunk got sick. So then Coyote said to the elks: "You people shall go, the medicine-man will doctor, you shall drum." And then the elks went to Coyote's house. Then, indeed, he put some pitch up into his younger brother's rectum. And then the elks sat down. Now then Raven doctored. And then the elks drummed. Thus Raven sang: "Only grass is filled into (his belly), *l!ak wagwā'li*;¹ only grass is filled into (his belly), *cu' cu' cu'*."²

And then Coyote said: "Now let us carry out my younger brother, and he will go and urinate." And then the elks took hold of Skunk and he was carried outside. Now then Coyote was first on top,² outside of the house. And then he took hold of his younger brother by his head-hair. Then he was taken hold of (by) all; Skunk was lifted up. Then Coyote removed the pitch from him. And then he defecated and discharged wind. The elks all jumped off, cleared the underground lodge, and all went out. None of them died.

Again Coyote went to tell the people, the large deer.³ But he was told: "We will not go." — "Truly, Coyote and Skunk are not good. If Coyote comes again, then we shall not go," said the big deer. Then Coyote said:

² The exit to Coyote's house (*wate'li*, "underground lodge, cellar") is here implied to have been by way of the roof.

³ *Itq'etxi'lawa* properly means deer and other kinds of big game.

itela'nk. Aga galí'kim isklú'leye: "Ag' amcu'ya; wí'tlax
 gó'u gôu amcxu'xwama; iatcge'mem itcu'x'ix' igí'xux."
 Kxwôpt galgiu'lxam isklú'leye: "Klā'y' ag' antcu'ya." Aga
 wí'tla iwa't gayu'ya icpuxyatínmax. Gatcu'lxam: "Ag'
 5 amcu'ya; wí'tlax gó'u gôu amcxu'xwama; iatcge'mem
 itcu'x'ix' igí'xux." Galgiu'lxam: "Klā'y' ag' antcu'ya."
 Aga wí'tla iwa't gayu'ya itkxa'qwiq. Wí'tla da'ukwa ga-
 lí'xux. Aga wí'tla iwa't gayu'ya imu'lágemax. Wí'tla
 daukwa galí'xux. Klwa'c galu'xwax ide'lxam; klā'ya can
 10 galu'ya.

16. RACCOON AND HIS GRANDMOTHER.¹

Iqla'lalec ayaklí'c. Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'xtg' agu'lul.
 Aga kxwô'pt galu'y' ayaklí'c ik!wa'yatba. Aga kxwô'pt
 gagugwa'lemam agu'lul a'xtla; galu'yam; klā'y' agu'lul
 ik!wa'yatba. Aga kxwô'pt galu'y' itq'fia'mt. Aga kxwô'pt
 15 gagiugwí'lx aya'klic ia'gítcba; kxwô'dau wí'tla mank ca'-
 xalix' ia'gítcba gagiugwí'lx; kxwô'dau wí'tl' ayacqu'ba
 gagiugwí'lx; a'ga gagiugwí'lx aya'itcba mô'ketix'.

17. THE RACCOON STORY.

Cdu'xt iqla'lalec aya'klic aq!ē'yuqt. Kwāpt tcagwa'-ix
 kwāpt ackdu'xulal itgu'lul. Aní'x aga qlé'm qlém nixu'-
 20 xwax iqla'lalec qxedumi'tcklinan; aga la'x gagiu'xwax.
 Aga kwô'pt ik!ema'kan gatci'uxwax a'-ima ak!alala'x'take
 gatcu'xwa. Ya'xtlax kí'nwa agiulxa'ma: "A'-ima atlu'k-

¹ This short text is merely a fragmentary version of the myth that next follows. It supplements the latter, however, by the somewhat more detailed explanation

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“Now you people shall go; again you shall go and drum. My younger brother has become sick.” Then they said to Coyote: “We shall not go now.” Then he went off again to the antelopes. He said to them: “Now you people shall go; again you shall go and drum. My younger brother has become sick.” They said to him: “We shall not go now.” Then he went off again to the big-horn sheep. Again his experience was as before. Then he went off again to the elks. Again his experience was as before. The people had become afraid; none of them went.

16. RACCOON AND HIS GRANDMOTHER.¹

There were Raccoon and his paternal grandmother. And then he stole the acorns. Now then his paternal grandmother went to the cache. And then she too went to get acorns. She arrived; there were no acorns in the cache. And then she went to the house. And then his paternal grandmother whipped him on his nose; and again she whipped him on his nose a little above; and again she whipped him on his forehead; then she whipped him twice on his tail.

17. THE RACCOON STORY.

Raccoon and his paternal grandmother, an old woman, were living together. Whenever it was summer, then they used to gather acorns. Now finally Raccoon got to be lazy in picking them; the sun made him (so). And then he became angry; he gathered only acorns with worm-holes. She used to tell him too, but in vain:

it gives of the markings of the raccoon. With both versions cf. Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 142-154.

timax amitek!i'nanîmtck." — "K!a'ya!" Aga ik!ema'kan waô'u gatci'ux; aga k!a'ya gatcumi'tekli.

- TcaɣE'lqliɣ galixu'xwiɣ. Kwôpt wa'lu gagi'ux. Ya'xi yuxt łxi'liu; gā'n yuxt k!a'ya qxa'ngi wa'wa. Kwôpt
- 5 aya'klic gagiul'ɣam: "Qxa'ngiska gā'n muxt, ga'ya? Wa'lu tci gmuxt?" A-i gatcu'x. "Da'n au aya'mluda?" Iwa'dan gagixni'ma ki'nwa. "K!a'ya!" Kwôpt gagiul'ɣam: "Qxa'ngi pu iya'mlut agu'lul?" — "A'-i, akl'c, ama'n!uda." Gagiul'ɣam: "Amu'ya itxak!wa'yatamt." —
- 10 "A'-i" gatcu'xwa. Gatcage'lgax acda'k!wałq; kwôpt gayu'ix icdak!wa'yatamt, gatcu'gwalmam agu'lul. Gwā'nma icdak!wa'yat. Gayu'yam. Kwôpt l!a'g gatcu'xwax a'-ixt a'niwad; na'wid galixe'lmux a'niwat sã'q^u.

- Wi't!ax a'-ixt l!a'g gatcu'xwa; galixe'lmux galixe'lmux
- 15 wi't!a sã'q^u; a'-ima aq!a'ptcxaq kwô'dau ak!alala'x^utack tca'ɣgwilxł; sa'q^u gatcu'lXum. Gatedalq!ē'lateu itq!a'p-tcxaqukc kwô'dau itk!a'lalax^utack wi't!a ik!wa'yatamt. Wi't!ax a'-ixt l!a'g gatcu'xwa ałalu'n aga ya'xdau l!a'g gatcu'x. Wi't!a da'uka meq me'q galixe'lmux, dasaq^usa'q^u
- 20 gatcu'lXum. Wi't!a da'uka gatcalq!ē'lateu aq!a'ptcxaq kwô'dau ak!alala'x^utack. Ałala'kt l!a'g gatcu'x. Kwôpt gałglu'ma iłgwa'lilɣ: "K!ā'lalac ik!ū'xtgālāl! 'a'ē!" Galixelwi'teatk; mānk wi't!ax galixe'ltemôq da'ukwa: "K!ā'lalac ik!ū'xtgālāl;" kwô'dau t!a'ya gasi'ɣlutk.

- 25 Aga gatcage'lgelx at!a'ntsa a-igi'dit. Gatcu'lɣam: "K!a'ya! Na'qxi ngu'xtgelal; ignu'lɣam agi'klic; kwôpt i'nti." Ałagwe'nma l!a'g gatcu'xwa. Kwôpt gatca'gelxim: "Mti ma'it!a." Aga gala-igelu'ya; q!wa'p gagi'ux. Gatcu'lɣam: "Aga kwô'ba łq!a'p; na'qxi anwi'd ik!wa'yatba

“Keep picking only the good ones!” — “No!” And he got angrier than ever and picked none at all.

Winter came on and he was hungry. Yonder he sits back in the house; silent he sits, saying nothing. Then his paternal grandmother said to him: “Wherefore do you sit silent, grandson? Are you hungry?” — “Yes,” he answered her. “What, pray, shall I give you?” She showed him all sorts of things, but to no purpose. “No!” (he said.) Then she said to him: “How would it be if I gave you acorns?” — “Yes, grandmother, you shall give them to me.” She said to him: “You shall go to our cache.” — “Yes,” he said to her. He took their basket and went on to their cache; he went to get acorns. They had five caches. He arrived there. Then he uncovered one of them, the first; immediately he ate up all (there was in) the first.

Again he uncovered one of them; again he ate and ate all there was. Only the shells and the worm-eaten acorns he always threw away. He ate up everything. The shells and worm-eaten acorns he swept back down into the cache. Again he uncovered one, the third; also that he uncovered. Again, as before, he chewed and ate, ate up every bit of the (acorns). Again, as before, he swept the shells and worm-eaten acorns down into the (cache). He uncovered the fourth. Then a certain person shouted: “Raccoon is stealing! ho!” He listened. After a short while he heard (him shout) again, as before: “Raccoon is stealing!” and he looked carefully.

Then he caught sight of Crow coming towards him. He said to her: “No! I am not stealing. My paternal grandmother told me (to get acorns), that’s why I came.” He uncovered the fifth (cache). Then he called her: “Do you too come!” So she went up to him, approached him. He said to her: “Now there (you have come) far enough;

q!wa'p amdi'a. Aic yaxi'mt ayamgella'dni'ma." A'i gagi'ux. Aga kwô'pt galixe'lmux; a'ÿka itcak!a'mela a'ÿka tcagella'dni't; a'ÿka agak!a'lalax^utakc iwa'tka l!a'ÿ^u atcu-
 5 "K!a'ya ma'nix amnu'xwa." A'i gagi'ux. Wi't!a da'uka gatca!q!e'latcu aq!a'ptexaq; qxa'wat waba'na gala'-ixux, a'ÿka gatca'lkitk.

Gali'ÿk!wa. Aga ia'lqdiÿ kwô'dau a'xt!a galu'ya aya'klic icdak!wa'yatamt. Galu'yam. L!a'g gagi'ux. Adi' a'-ima
 10 aq!a'ptexaq kwô'dau ak!alalā'ÿ^utakc. A'-ixtba da'uka. Kanemgwā'nma da'uka l!ā'g. Gala'ÿk!wax. Galu'yam; k!ā'ya iqla'lalec. Qxuct a'ngadiÿ gali'ÿpcut aba'ÿetba. Gagige'lgax da'uya yuxt k!a'cic tcianÿa'nawunÿt aya'klic. Gagi'gelga ik!a'munôq; gagi'ugwily ia'giteba. Gacixe'l-
 15 qxi't; gali'kta, gayu'gaba. Wi't!ax gagiu'gwēly; aga da'uka qxida'u gagiu'gwē'lilÿt. Gagi'uwa sāq^u gayugwa'pam; gagiu'gwēly kē'mkit aya'iteba. Ya'xdau qxi'dau da'uya wi'gwa iqla'lalec ðe'l ðel iagē'kau, kwô'ba ya'xdau qxi'dau gagiu'gwē'lilÿtemx.

20 Kwô'pt yaxka'ba gali'kim iqla'lalec: "Aga anu'ya dā'-minwa; k!a'ya wi't!ax aenge'lgela'ya agi'klic." Kwô'pt gali'kteax. Qxi'dau gali'kim: "Lā'p lāp¹ igi'nux agi'klic. lā'p lāp igi'nux agi'klic." Aga qxidā'u gayu'ya. La'x gayugwa'qxwam ide'lÿam uxwa'qxt uxwa'egeni't wak!a'lkal.
 25 Gatgiu'lÿam: "Amti'a;" gatgigi'luma. K!a'ya gatcu'ket; nā'wit gayu'ya yuqxwe'lqt. "Ha ha ha'," galuxwak!a'ya-wulalemtek, "ga'nwitca iqla'lalec nigik'atÿtk; ya'xdau qxi'-

¹ lā'p lāp is said to mean "whip" in the myth language of Raccoon.

do not come right up to the cache. I'll just throw you (acorns) from a distance." — "Yes," she said to him. And then he ate; those which were bad, those he always threw to her. Those that were worm-eaten he would throw in her direction. And thus the two of them ate. Then he said to her: "Don't you tell on me." — "Yes," she said to him. Again, as before, he swept the shells down into the (cache). A few of his (acorns) were left over; those he packed into the (cache).

He went home. Then a long time (elapsed), and his paternal grandmother also went to their cache. She arrived there. She uncovered it. Alas! there were only shells and worm-eaten acorns. Similarly in another one. Similarly all five were uncovered. She went home. She arrived there. Raccoon was nowhere to be seen. In truth, he had already concealed himself in the rear of the house. She seized him here, where he was sitting, looking up smilingly at his paternal grandmother. She took hold of a stick and whipped him on his nose. He cried, ran off, ran out of the house. Once more she whipped him, and, as before, she thus kept whipping him. She followed him, and at last he got quite outside; she whipped him at the tip of his tail. That is why to-day Raccoon's back is black in places; it is thus wherever she whipped him.

Then Raccoon said to himself: "Now I shall go away for good; never again shall my paternal grandmother see me." Then he cried. Thus he said: "My paternal grandmother whipped me!" And thus he went on. He approached people (who) were assembled together, gambling at shinny. They said to him: "You shall come;" they shouted to him. He did not look at them at all; he went straight ahead, wailing. "Ha, ha, ha!" they all laughed, "oh, yes! Raccoon has been stealing, that is why

dau yuqxwe'lqt." Gali'kim wi'tlax: "Lā'p lāp igi'nux agi'nux agi'k'lic. lā'p lāp igi'nux agi'k'lic. emca'denux k!wa'la mcki'xax k!mā'denux na'ya lā'p lāp igi'nux agi'k'lic."

- 5 Nā'wit gayu'ya. Wi'tla la'x gali'xux; adi' waô'u ide'l-xam itga'belat. Wi'tlax da'ukwa gatgigi'luma: "Amti'a." Wi'tla da'ukwa gali'kim: "Lā'p lāp igi'nux agi'k'lic. lā'p lāp igi'nux agi'k'lic." — "Ha ha ha! iq!a'lalec nigik'atxtk; nigit'waq aya'k'lic," gatgiugwa'nimtcgwax ide'l-xam. Wi'tla
10 da'ukwa gali'kim: "emca'denux k!wa'la mcki'xax k!mā'denux na'ya lā'p lāp igi'nux agi'k'lic."

Aga mank ya'xi gayuxwala'gwa. Gayu'ya nā'wit gayugwa'gwamx itk!a'munôq ka'nawi dan yuk!wa'nxat itxe'lem. Kwô'ba gayu'la-it aga gā'n nixu'xwax sqxi'lak.

- 15 Kwôpt gayak!alxi'wulx asla'waitk¹ agak!a'munôq; kwôpt gala-ixe'lmux asla'waitk.

Aga a'xtlax aya'k'lic q!e'ctu galaxu'xwax; galaxlu'xwa-it: "Luxwa'n da'nbatat qxi'dau nini'txa itcigi'yen; aga anyu-na'xlama." Kwôpt galaxe'ltxwitck. Aga kwôpt galu'ya.

- 20 Galaktca'xmax: "Ā'na witcigi'yen — Gā'iya witcigi'yen!² Da'ngiya'bama lā'p lāp — Iniū'x witcigi'yen. Gatewā'q-wax aq!ē'xcap — Amā'tôq ganū'xwax — Dā'uka itgak!ū'k!ū. Gā'iya witcigi'yen! Gateanlū'klamx aq!ē'xcap — Amā'tôq ganū'xwax — Iwa'tka itgak!ū'k!ū."³

- 25 Yu'gwaxt iq!a'lalec a-ixi'lax asla'waitk. Kwôpt i'wi gali'xux; gatcage'lkel a'dit. Plā'la gayugwa'la-it gā'n. Itslī-nun aflugwa'ya de'm+, alaglu'maya: "Ma'ika tci³ ga'ya?"

¹ Species uncertain. In the corresponding Kathlamet myth the word aselā'wa is translated "haws."

² It is customary in Wishram, when apostrophizing a relative, as in mourning, to use both the non-pronominal vocative and the 1st per. sing. poss. form of

he is crying." Again he said: "My paternal grandmother whipped me! My paternal grandmother whipped me! You people, indeed, are happy; but as for me — my paternal grandmother whipped me!"

Straight on he went. Again he approached (some people); behold! there were many people again. Again as before, they shouted to him: "You shall come." Again, as before, he said: "My paternal grandmother whipped me! My paternal grandmother whipped me!" — "Ha, ha, ha! Raccoon has been stealing. His paternal grandmother killed him," the people made fun of him. Again, as before, he said: "You people, indeed, are happy, but as for me — my paternal grandmother whipped me."

Now he passed by them, a little farther ahead. He went straight on (until) he came to trees (on which) all sorts of food were growing. There he sat down and remained quiet for a short time. Then he climbed up on a berry¹ bush. Then he ate the berries.

Now his paternal grandmother, for her part, became sad. She thought: "I don't know why I treated my grandson in that way; now I shall go and look for him." Then she got ready to go. And then she went. She cried: "Oh, my grandson! grandson, my grandson!"² I know not why I whipped my grandson. He killed a fawn; a breech-clout I made of it, thus with its hoofs on. Grandson, my grandson! He brought me a fawn; a breech-clout I made of it, just that way, with its hoofs on."³

Raccoon was perched on top, eating the berries. Then he turned to look, and saw her coming. Quietly he was sitting above, saying nothing. Whenever a bird flew, whirring its wings, she would shout: "Is that you, the noun (as if one were to say in English: "Papa, my father!"). Compare a'ca wagi'xan ("my daughter!") in the first song, p. 94.

³ The exact rhythmical values of the syllables of this song are undetermined, as the myth was written down and forwarded by my interpreter.

I'wi alaxu'xwax; kla'ya ilgwa'filx. Wi'tla uqxwe'lqt. Galixtu'xwa-it: "Aga wa'wa anu'xwa." Kwôpt wi'tla galixtu'xwa-it: "Kwa'tqxa na'qxi wa'w' ana'txax. Aic anu-wa'gwa." Kwôpt wi'tlax nixtu'xwa-it: "Aic itlu'kdix
 5 anakxaluda'itegwa." Aga gala-igu'gwamx; gagiu'lxam: "Ma'ika tci⁸ ga'ya?" Ga'n yugwa'xt; kla'ya qxa'ngi gatcu'lxam. Ki'nwatci gagiu'lxam: "Ma'ika ga'ya?" Kla'ya wa'wa gatcu'xwa.

Kwôpt gagiu'lxam: "Na'itlax asla'wait." Kwôpt k!wa't
 10 k!wat gatcu'xwax pā'l ilia'kēn; qxwa'l qxwal gatcda'-luxwax waqxa'ts asla'wait. Gatculxam: "Cā'x^u i'xa imi'k^uc̄xat; na'ika ayamlu'da." Kwôpt da'ukwa galaxu'xwax. Gacage'lada daqxwa'l itca'k^uc̄xat. Nanq!wa'lguxit; ki'nwa gagiu'lxam ilteqwa'. Kla'ya gayu'ya. Aga kwô'pt
 15 galaxc̄g'lalēmtck. Kwôpt ni'kta ki'nwa k!ma a'ngadix aga axelu'idat na'xux; mā'nk aga dū'lulu galu'kwa.

Egwap gali'kteax iqla'lalēc; ki'nwa gatcu'walalēmtck; ki'nwa atcage'lgaya. Dū'dū alugwa'lalma; ki'nwatci⁸:
 20 "Akl'ic aga mtī'; aga kla'ya wi'tlax qxi'dau ayamu'xwa; aga atxk!wa'ya." Ki'nwa gatcu'walalēmtck aga a'-ic pē's-pē'sps¹ gala'xux; gala'xux acmu'dmud aka'xdau l̄qxuct aya'klic iqla'lalēc. Aga kwô'pt ya'-ima ni'xux. Aga gayu'ya. Na'wid galigu'gwam isklū'lye. Aga gacdu'la-it cda'-ima. Kwôpt gatciu'lxam: "Kla'ya ya'xi mia', dala-
 25 a'x l̄q!a'b ałgemu'xwa wala'lap³ da'ngi ilak!a'melamax."

Aga kwô'pt gayu'ya iqla'lalac wi'tla; galigu'qgam

¹ A sound supposed to be characteristic of the pheasant.

² No explanation could be obtained of the meaning of wala'lap beyond the fact that it signifies some sort of mythical being. One of the old men of the tribe said that Coyote himself did not know what it was, but merely wished to excite Rac-

grandson?" She would turn to look; it was not a person at all. Again she wails. He thought to himself: "Now I shall talk to her." Then again he thought: "Never mind! I shall not talk to her. I shall just kill her." Then again he thought: "I shall just associate kindly with her." Now she reached him. She said to him: "Is that you, grandson?" He is perched on top, saying nothing; he said nothing at all to her. In vain she said to him: "Is that you, grandson?" He did not speak to her at all.

Then she said to him: "(Let) me also (have) some berries!" Then he picked them (until) his hand was full; he stuck thorns into the berries. He said to her: "Open your mouth wide and I shall give you some." Then she did thus. He threw them at her so as to just fill her mouth. She choked; she tried to tell him (to get) water, but in vain. He did not go (for it). And then she rolled about. Then he ran (after her), but in vain, as she had already become different. A short time elapsed and she flew: *dū'lulu*.

Raccoon burst out crying. He kept running after her, but in vain; he would try to seize her, but without success. She would keep flying about: *dū'dū*. In vain (he called to her): "Grandmother, come now! Not again shall I do thus to you. Let us now go home." He kept following her about, but in vain; now she just uttered: "Pe'spesps."¹ That same paternal grandmother of Raccoon, in truth, had become Pheasant. So then he remained alone. Then he went on. Straightway he came to Coyote. Now they two lived together alone. Then (Coyote) said to him: "Do not go far away; perhaps a 'wala'lap' will meet you — they are wicked beings."²

And then Raccoon went on again and came to Grizzly coon's curiosity so as to get a chance to waylay him, kill him, and eat him. Compare Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 152-154, where the *wá'łaxłax* invented by Coyote evidently correspond to the Wishram *wala'lap*. The rest of the myth was given as a second instalment, and there is evidently a break in the narrative.

ik!wa'qwa. "Qxa'ngi gamxa'tx ya'xdau imiga'tcba łel?" — "Gana'dlā aksk!u'tsian; aga kwô'pt galanxi'tlagwa, kwô'pt wax gadanxi'tx itlasxu'ait kwô'dau ifu'nut." — "Da'ukwa na'it!a amnu'xwa, a'wi." — "Cma'ni au imiga'ilmxac yağa 5 dauka ayamu'xwa." Kwô'pt niki'm ik!wa'qwa: "Daukwa amnu'xwa." — "A'i," niki'm iq!a'lalac. Aga kwô'pt gacgu'lā ayaksk!u'tsian ik!wa'qwa, sa'q^u gacgu'la. Kwô'pt q!wu'l q!wul ga'cktux itlasxu'ait. Kwô'pt galixxa'-ima ik!wa'qwa; kwô'pt gatca-ila'gwa aksk!u'tsian iyaga'tcba. 10 Nawit wa'x gatci'gux itlasxu'ait k!ma ifu'nut. Kwô'pt gayugwô'ba, galige'ltaqxł.

Kwô'pt gayuyā'; nawit isk!u'liya galigu'qwam. Kwô'pt gatciu'lɣam: "Ik!wa'qwa tce'ndwad, ina-ila'gwa aksk!u'tsian." Kwô'pt gatciu'pcut. Kwô'pt isk!u'liye gatcige'lga 15 itcl'i'laq; a-ite'l+ gatci'ux iya'gatcba. Kwô'pt lu'q! gatci'ux. Kwô'pt gala'-ixilupct isk!u'liye, wağ gatciu'gEmaxix ittcl'i-laqukc. ^eE'x gatctux, qxal!a'let itqxadu'tinkc.

Kwô'pt gatci'uwa; na'wit galigElda'tcɡwam isk!u'liye. Gatci'ulɣam: "Na'qxi tci ifmgi'datecɡwam ifk!a'ckac, di'ka 20 itce'ntqxa ifgi'nlux." — "Tclit'qxala tclitqxalā,"¹ isk!u'liye gali'kim. Wi't!a gatciugwa'mtcxugwa: "Na'qxi tci ifk!a'ckac ifmgi'datecɡwam?" — "Tclit'qxala tclitqxalā." — "Ha ha, k!a'ya na'it!a itcdama'xul, awi." (Yağa a'ngadiğ lu'q! gatci'ux itcl'i'laq; a-ite'l+ gatci'ux iyaga'tc iq!a'lalac diwi.) 25 "Yamu'xulal, dala^eE'x luq! inlu'x anga'diğ." — "Tc!a'niau, ā'x mxux," gali'kim ik!wa'qwa. Kwô'pt ax ni'xux isk!u'liye; galige'lba ifgwa'filx łel ifa'gatc.

Kwô'pt ga'nwit gatclu'gwaleqxl łaxka da'uła ifgwa'filx.

¹ This word is apparently quite meaningless. It is perhaps a humorous contortion of itcl'i'laq ("grasshopper").

Bear. "What did you do to yourself so as to be striped black on your nose?" — "I sharpened an adze. And then I hit myself with it, then poured black pitch and urine on myself." — "You shall do thus to me too, younger brother!" — "If indeed you are nervy, then I shall do thus to you." Then Grizzly-Bear said: "You shall do thus to me." — "All right," said Raccoon. And then the two of them sharpened Grizzly-Bear's adze, sharpened it perfectly. Then they prepared the black pitch very hurriedly. Then Grizzly-Bear lay down; then (Raccoon) hit him on the nose with the adze. Immediately he poured the black pitch and urine on him. Then he ran out and left him.

Then he went on and on; straightway he came to Coyote. Then he said to him: "Grizzly-Bear is following me, I hit him with an adze." Then he hid him. Then Coyote took a grasshopper and just made him black on his nose. Then he swallowed him. Then Coyote started a fire and made it blaze near the grasshoppers. He magically transformed them, (so that) they appeared to be children.

Then (Grizzly-Bear) pursued him; straightway he came upon Coyote. He said to him: "Did not a boy come upon you? He made a scar on me right here." — "Tcli't-qxala, tclitqxa-lā',"¹ said Coyote. Again he asked him: "Did not a boy come upon you?" — "Tcli'tqxala, tclitqxa-lā'." — "Ha, ha! I, for my part, do not speak Molale,² younger brother!" (Indeed, (Coyote) had already swallowed the grasshopper; he had just made his nose black (to make him look) like Raccoon.) "I'll tell you, perhaps I swallowed him some time ago." — "Let's see, then, vomit!" said Grizzly-Bear. Then Coyote vomited; a person came out of him whose nose was black.

Then, surely, he recognized this person as him. Then

² Molale is the western dialect of the Waiilatpuan stock.

Kwôpt ni'kim ik!wa'qwa: "Qxa'ngi aic ga'mxatx yaxdau imik!a'itsem!" — "Cma'ni au imiga'ilmxac yaxa pu da'uka ma'it!ax ayamu'xwa na'ika diwi." — "Hi, da'ukwa aga na'it!a amnu'xwa, awi." Aga kwô'pt gacdu'ya, ilk!a'lamat gac-
 5 kla'xlama. Kwôpt gayu'ya isk!u'lye, lq!u'p gatcu'xwa atci'x-
 tcix. Kwôpt lxxwā'p gatcu'xwa. Kwôpt qxwa'l gala-i'xe-
 lux iyawa'nba. Aga kwô'pt gayu'ya, galixe'lgwitcu ilk!a'-
 lamat ilxlē'lt gwa'nema ā'xt āxt.

Gatciu'lḡam ik!wa'qwa: "Qxi'dau pu a'nuxwa." Luq!
 10 lu'q! gatclux gwa'nma ilk!a'lamat. Kwô'pt gatclu'qwemct
 ilteqwa'; lē'b lēb galxux iyawa'nba. Galixux gua't guat.
 Kwôpt galigla'lamteck: "Itcmū'fa mū'fa." Kwôpt gatci-
 u'lḡam iya'lxt: "Qxi'dau ganxatx itsma'la'iumit kwôdau
 itsk!a'itsem." Galikim ik!wa'qwa: "Da'ukwa amnu'xwa,
 15 a'wi." Galikim isk!u'lye: "Cma'ni au imiga'ilemxe'teck
 yaxa da'ukwa ayamu'xwa." Gayu'tḡwit isk!u'lye; dawa'x
 galxi'gēlwaba ilk!a'lamat iyadu'duba. Kwô'pt aga gayu'-
 la-it ik!wa'qwa; gatciu'lḡam: "K!ē'p emxux." Kwôpt
 gatcilgwi'tcu ilk!a'lamat; sa'q^u gatci'lgalqx iya'wan. Ga-
 20 yumqxa'temteck; gatci'ulḡamnintek: "Emki'm ma'it!a,
 'Ma'la ma'la' na'ika diwi ganxtgimni'nḡL." Gayu'mēqt;
 cu'x gatci'xux; kwôpt galixe'lmux.

18. THE BOY THAT WAS STOLEN BY AT!AT!A'LIYA.¹

Ictamḡ aya'gikal ma'la gduxt i'tqxudi. Aga kwô'pt
 galu'ya wa'tecti. Aga lq!ô'plq!ôp guxt. Kwôpt gagi-
 25 xi'ma itca'ḡan; aga yā'xi gala-i'gēluqxł, guxt lq!ô'plq!ôp
 wa'tecti. Aga gakla'kulqx; kwôpt na-iglu'ya itcaḡa'n.

¹ This myth was taken down in phonetic Wishram and forwarded with inter-linear translation by Pete McGuff, the original source being an old Indian woman named ANEWIKUS. Despite several attempts to get the whole myth in its com-

Grizzly-Bear said: "Just what did you do to yourself, that you are thus small?" — "If, indeed, you are nery, then I could do thus to you too, just like me." — "Surely, you shall now do thus to me too, younger brother!" And then the two of them went and heated some stones. Then Coyote went and cut off an elder-bush limb. Then he bored it all through and hung it inside of himself in his belly. And then he went and threw down five hot rocks into himself, one by one.

Grizzly-Bear said to him: "Thus I should like to do." (Coyote) swallowed five rocks one after another. Then he drank water and they boiled in his belly. He rubbed himself. Then he sang: "I am clean, clean." Then he said to his elder brother: "In this way I became clean and small." Grizzly-Bear said: "Thus you shall do to me, younger brother!" Coyote said: "If, indeed, you are nery, then I shall do thus to you." Coyote stood up and the rocks just went pouring out of him from his tube. And then Grizzly-Bear sat down. (Coyote) said to him: "Shut your eyes." Then he dropped the rocks down into him. His belly all burned up. He began to die. (Coyote) kept telling him: "Do you too say, 'Clean, clean,' just as I kept saying." He died. He took off his skin from him; then he ate him.

18. THE BOY THAT WAS STOLEN BY AT!AT!A'LIVA.¹

The chief's wife is cleaning up the house. And then they went to get grass and she cuts it. Then she laid her child down and went off far away from him, (while) she is cutting the grass. Now she finished (her work)

plete form, it had to be left unfinished as here given. It is evidently a variant of the Kathlamet "Myth of Aq!asx̄ē'nasx̄ēna" (see Boas, "Kathlamet Texts," pp. 9—19).

Galu'yam; klā'ya itca'xan, yaima da'ngi gagige'lkel idia'-
 qxat di'xtka ickla'li diwi datcli'p itca'xanba ixadi'mat.
 Kī'nwa galgi'unaxltck. Klā'ya. Aga kwô'pt galxk!wa'yu.
 Aga kwô'pt tla'ya gatgi'a itka'lukc, gatku'kl itgaga'matcx.
 5 Wi'tla da'uka galgu'giga itqxa't da'ima da'ukwa wi'tla
 datcli'p ickla'li diwi. Aga kwô'pt galxda'gwa, galu'yam.
 Galki'm: "Klā'ya ikla'ckac." Aga kwô'pt ka'nawi ide'l-
 xam galuxini'mtck.

Qu'ct yaxa a'xdau Atlatla'liya¹ gagi'ux^utk. Gagi'ukl
 10 nawit itca'qxuqba bama lu'q!. Aga kwô'pt wi'tla tqli'x
 gagi'ux, aga aic gagiunda'mit bama a'xka. Aga alu'ya
 akdu'laba itlali'tsyauks kwô'dau itqwa'deduke dan agale'm-
 gwa, akdu'kla. Lu'x^u akdu'xwa, atge'ksta saitla'mel-
 tla'mel. Aga kwô'pt adixe'lmuxma. Aga ku'ldix gayu'mt,
 15 iya'gaiL ni'xux. Aklu'xama itca'qxuq: "Imca'ux^uix."
 Aga gatclge'lkel ilxeluided, ila'lqx ixlu'ided yaxa ya'x;
 iya'lqx itgwa'filx diwi, la'-ite ila'lqx datcli'p iyakli'nułmax.
 Kwôpt nixlu'xwa-it: "Qxa'ngi lga qxi'dau?" A-ila'x
 iki'xax. Klma da'minwa giu'xulal itca'xan aga ya'xt!ax
 20 tcage'mluxan; qxa'ngi ałgiu'xwa itca'qxuq tqli'x agiu'xwa,
 aklu'xama: "Imca'uxix."

Aga da'nmax gatcdu'dina, ittsli'nunks da'nmax idiaga'-
 matcx engi. Dā'minwa agiulxama: "Na'qxi iwa't iwa
 galu'ix."² Yaxa da'minwa ixq!wa'lal aga dan atciwa'gwa
 25 itc!a'nk. Aga kwô'pt nixlu'xwa-it: "Da'nba lga gagnul-

¹ Compare pp. 35—39 and footnote on p. 34. Pete writes in regard to this mythical being that she "is supposed to be a kind of a person, but much larger than

and went to her child. She arrived there. Her child was not to be seen; only something she saw, a single track, striped like a basket, where her child had lain. They sought to find him, but in vain. He was not to be seen. And then they all went home. Now then the men went (to search) more carefully, took their arrows along. Again as before they found only a track, again as before striped like a basket. So then they turned back and arrived home. They said: "There is no boy." And then all the people mourned.

Now in truth it was that Atlat!a'fiya¹ who had stolen him. She took him straight to her children for eating. But then again she liked him and just raised him for herself. Now she used to go to dig up black snakes and frogs, or toads, and took them home with her. She used to roast them, and when tender, they were done. And then he used to eat them. Now he grew up quickly and became big. She used to say to her children: "He is your younger brother." Now he saw that they looked different (from himself), their flesh looked different from his own; his flesh was like a human being's, as for them — their flesh was marked in stripes. Then he thought to himself: "Why, perchance, is it thus?" He is puzzled. But ever she speaks of him as her son, and he, for his part, thinks much of her. Whatever her children would do to him, she would take his part; she would say to them: "He is your younger brother."

Now he killed various (animals), various birds with his arrows. Always she would say to him: "Do not go off in that direction." Now he is always hunting, and even kills a deer. And then he thought: "Why, perchance,

an ordinary person. No one to-day can give the exact description, nor anyone ever saw one."

² Gat'uix means "they went." One would rather expect amu'ya ("you shall go").

ḡa'mnił, 'K!ā'ya amu'ya iwa't iwa'?" Kwôpt nixłu'ḡwa-it:
 "Aga iwa'tka anu'ya." Aga iwa'tka gayu'ya. Iyak!a'i-
 tsem wi'ḡat gali'gugwam, kwô'ba daya ik!a'munak ixí'mat.
 ḡwôb nikk!a'lagwa pu, kwôpt ca'xel nixux; nixla'gwa pu,
 5 wi't!a kwô'ba da'uya. Kwôpt nigu'tḡwit, da!a'k nixux.

"A'nnanana," gałxu'x ilgwa'filḡ. "Na'ika lga gani'tḡtga
 k!m' aga !a'k itci'ux itcqiwi't k!ma yaḡa pu inxi'lk^ufitck.
 Iya'waq itcqiwi't, ik!a'fámgwadid¹ engi itcmE'lq, aq!E'mu-
 cekcek engi akq!u'xl, ałxa'płxap² engi aḡk!u'ḡsk!uxs, wa'-
 10 tcin engi itse'kal." Kwôpt gatcu'lḡam: "Au, k!ma na'qxi
 imnu'lḡam a'ngadiḡ." Aga kwôpt t!a'ya gatci'ux itca'quit
 wi't!a da'ukwa. Kwôpt gagiulḡam: "A!qxi anyulḡa'-
 mema imilḡt!a'max."³ Kwôpt na'kta, da!a'ū wagí'fti gala'-
 xux. Qu'ct yaḡa ikinwa'kcumax ya'xdau itcagí'kal naxa-
 15 i'lk^ufitckwam.

"Aga ayaxemilk^ui'tckwa; na'qxi a'xdau wa'maqx, ax-
 lu'idéd a'xdau. Imi'lkau qxi'gEmtḡix watce'lḡba abaxa'tba.
 Amuya'mabet, alma amłu'xwa ilq!a'xuskan tclE'xtclEx.
 Kwô'pt alma kwa'lkwal amłiluxa'yaxdixa ka'nawi qa'xba
 20 watce'lḡba. Kwô'pt alma wa'ḡ amłu'xwa alu'yabet qxa'-
 damt, atcfilga'lgwa itca'qxuq. Cma'nix saq^u atcfitga'lgwa
 itca'qxuq, kwôpt ya'ḡiba kwô'ba iq!í'yuqt yuxt." Gagix-
 ní'ma.

Aga kwô'pt niḡk!wa'. Kwôpt da'ukwa ní'xux; kwa'l-
 25 kwal gatcu'x ilq!a'xuskan a!atce'lḡba. Aga kwô'pt wi't!a

¹ The ik!a'fámgwadid is described as a tin ornament of the shape of a funnel; several were tied close to one another to a belt or saddle, and produced a jingling effect. Pete adds that surely the "ik!a'fámgwadid was made before Indians ever saw tin. To my knowledge, it was made of horn or bone in olden days." Perhaps dew-claw rattles are referred to.

has she always been telling me, 'You shall not go off in that direction'?" Then he thought to himself: "Now I shall go just yonder." And off he went in just that direction. He came to a narrow trail; there lies this stick. He was about to step across over it; then it arose. He was about to pass by it; again there was this (stick). Then he stepped on it; it broke right in two.

"A'nnanana," groans the person (in pain). "Was it I, perchance, that stole him? And yet he broke my leg, and indeed I was about to let him know something. My leg is valuable, my thigh-bone is of jingles,¹ of beads is my knee, of *ałxa'płxap*² my ankle, of dentalium my shin bone." Then he said to her: "Oh! but you did not tell me before." And then he made her leg well again, as it was before. Then she said to him: "Wait, I shall go and tell your great-grandfather."³ Then she ran off and a sprinkle of rain arose. Now in truth that was Thunder who was her husband, and she came to tell him.

"Now I shall tell you. That one is not your mother, that woman is different (from you). Your cradle-board is in the back part of the underground lodge, at the rear end. When you get there, then you shall split up pitch-wood. Then you shall stick some of it into every part of the underground lodge. Then, when she goes off somewhere, you will set fire to the (pitch), and her children will burn. When her children will have all burned, then (go) to yonder place, where an old man is dwelling." She pointed it out to him.

And then he went home. Then he did as directed; he stuck in the pitch in their underground lodge. Now

² No explanation of this term was given. Probably some sort of beads or other ornament is referred to.

³ All progenitors from the fourth generation back, i. e., beginning with one's great-grandparents, are included in the terms *ilxt!a'max* (masc.), *alxt!a'max* (fem.).

galu'ya, galakli'lapam. Kwôpt ya'xtla nixq'wa' qxaLla'LET. Kwôpt wít'la lu'k nixux, gali'gu'qwam lxila'-itix. Gatlú'l'xam: "Ałqxi L!E'kL!Ek¹ ayamcu'xwa." Aga kwôpt L!E'kL!Ek gatclux. Galxi'qxatq idia'qwitba, saq^u gafikgu'p-
 5 dit. Kwôpt k!a'uk!au gatclxelux ita'nałxat engi. Kwôpt a-iwā'x gatclux.

Aga kwôpt nu'it gayu'ya. Wít'la lu'k nixux, wít'la gayu'ya. Gwā'nmiḡ lu'k nixux; gatctux gwā'nmiḡ itqxa't. Kwôpt kwô'dau gayu'ya iqlí'yuqtyamt; (ya'niwadix iya'lkau
 10 gatcige'lga). Kwaic akli'ulal At!at!a'fiya, daLla'k nixux itcaga'ben. "Ām," na'kim, "iyage'lmakcti! aga da'ngi itci'lgelux itcqxu'q." Aga kwôpt na'wit naḡk!wa'; galu'yam, aga tca'wigaluqt itla'quł saq^u. Kwôpt na'xa-ilutk da'niwatba gatctu'x; wít'la luk na'xux. Aga kwô'pt a-i-
 15 k!wa'lalek na'xux; gwā'nmiḡ gaktux kwô'dau sa'iba gagi'wa.

Yaxa ya'x galigu'qwam iqlí'yuqt a-ixi'l'xuł i'nadix inat wí'mał. Kwôpt gatciu'qdi iya'qxwit gwôb wí'mał. Gati-
 20 tciu'l'xam: "Na'qxi alma amingutxwi'da axq!u'xłba." Aga nigu'ya nawit ayaq!u'xłba, nikk!a'lagwa. Qu'ct yaxa i-gwa'cgwac da'uya iqlí'yuqt iya'Łqt iya'qxwit.

Aga kwô'pt gatci'ukł idia'qułyamt. Gatumgu'gmit sa'q^u da'xdau da'nmax dixi'lax idak!a'melamax. Kwôpt
 25 gatedi'lut da'nmax itt!u'ktimax icawa'iyumax itk!a'daqxi ik!wa'nixmax apge'liumax itgwa'natmax. Gadi'xelmux, niḡk!i'lxum. Kwôpt gatciukli'di, gatedi'lut ak!wa'tauwias kwô'dau ka'nawi dan itkli'tit. Kwô'dau gatedi'lut gwe'nma itgí'tcxutkc paL itga'matcx kwô'dau ała'xit.

Aga kwô'pt gatcixni'ma-iḡ: "Alma amu'ya da'xiaba
 30 itbu'xux; alma kwô'ba amxli'maya caxla'damt ka'nawi

¹ L!E'kL!Ek properly means "to uncover or open" something by taking off a

then she went off again, went digging. Then he, for his part, pretended to go hunting. Then he turned back again and came to where they all were. He said to them: "Let me louse¹ you." So then he loused them. He laid them on his legs and they all slept on him. Then he tied their hair to one another's and set fire to them.

Now then he went off immediately. Again he turned back, again he went off. Five times he turned back, five tracks he made. And then he went to the old man; (first he got his cradle-board). While Atlatla'tiya is digging, her digging-stick broke right in two. "Oh, the stinker!" she said, "now he has done something to my children." Now then she went straight home. She arrived there; their house was all burning now. Then she tracked him at the first (track) he had made; again she turned back. And then she became puzzled. Five times she tracked (him) before she followed him rightly.

As for him, he had reached the old man. He is fishing with a dip-net on the other side, across the river. Then he stretched out his leg across the river. He said to him: "You shall not stand on my knee." So he went straight up to his knee and stepped over it. Now in truth this old man with the long leg was Crane.

And then he took him to his house. He made him vomit all those various bad things that he had been eating. Then he gave him all sorts of good things — bull trout, chubs, steel-head salmon, trout, Chinook salmon. He ate them, finished eating. Then he clothed him, gave him a leather cape and all sorts of clothing. And he gave him five quivers of arrows and a bow.

And then he pointed out his way: "You shall go to yonder mountains, there you will shoot upwards all these

lid. The idea of "lousing" is here derived from that of "opening or parting the hair" when looking for lice.

gwe'nma dauda idmigítexutkc." Kwôpt da'ukwa níxux. Galixlí'ma nawit iguca'xba, gatcaxu'txmalitemtck aga'matex nawit wi'lxba. Kwôpt kwô'ba gayugwa'wulxt; da'uka gayugwa'wulxt da'uka dakda'k gatctux idiaga' 5 matex. La'x gayu'yam iguca'xba. Adí, gatcu'gikel ide'l-xam. Lq!a'p gatctux; gatclu'l-xam: "Qxa'damt mcū'it?" — "K!ā'ya! Nadīda'nwit ncugwala'-idamit itgaqla'qetaqukc." Qu'ct yaxa wa'qxcti a'xdau ca'ilel uk!i'tit.

Wí'tla gayu'ya ya'xat; wí'tla Lq!a'p gatctux itklú'na-itc 10 ide'l-xam. Gatedugumtcxu'gwa: "Qxa'damt mcū'it?" — K!ā'ya! entexugwa'limamt Nadīda'nwit ilga'nalxat." Qu'ct yaxa watsk!e'nl axdau. Wí'tla yaxat gayu'ya; wí'tla gatcu'gikel itklú'na-itc tga'dit. "Qxada'mt emcū'it?" — "K!ā'ya! Nadīda'nwit ncawila'-idamt itgaxe'nyakukc." Qu'ct 15 yaxa waqxudí'xat.

Ya'xat gayu'ya; gatclge'lkel ilgwa'ilix ldit. Lq!a'p gatclux. Da'ngi lgi'uctx, ql'e'pq!ep ts!a'ts!a iki'xax. Kwôpt gatciugumtcxu'gwa: "Da'n dauya miu'klt?" — "K!ā'ya! abu'lmax dauwa nu'klt." Kwôpt l!a'k gatca'-ixux; dagap- 20 ga'b nixu'xix. Kwôpt wí't!ax gatcuxa'bu; wí't!a wa'xwax nixu'xix. Aga kwôpt wí't!ax nixla'gwa.

Gatclge'lkel wí't!a ilgwa'ilix ldit; lq!a'p gatclux. "Āh, āh," a'xelga'yax, ila'maq ilagwa'mnilba, ali'lgat aga'matex. Mank ya'xat kwô'ba galu'lktcu; galu'môqt. Gayu'ya 25 ya'xat; gatclge'lkel lxdat ilgwa'ilix.¹

¹ The myth doubtless continues very much like its Kathlamet correspondent (see Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 13).

five quiverfuls of yours." Then he did just in that way. He shot clear to the sky; he caused the arrows to stand one on top of another clear (down) to the ground. Then he climbed up there; as he climbed up, then also he took off his arrows. He arrived up in the sky. Behold! he saw people. He met them and said to them: "Whither are you going?" — "No! We are going to ride on the heads of Indians." Now in truth those were the Lice, dressed all in black.

Again he went farther ahead; again he met still other people. He asked them: "Whither are you going?" — "No! We are going to hang on to the hair of Indians." Now in truth those were the Nits. Again he went on farther ahead; again he saw still others coming. "Whither are you going?" — "No! We are going to stay in the breech-clouts of Indians." Now in truth they were the Graybacks.

He went farther ahead and saw a person coming. He met him. He carries something on his back; it is tightly closed. Then he asked him: "What is this that you are taking along with you?" — "No! These are nights that I am taking along with me." Then he opened his (box) and it became entirely dark. Then he closed it again and it became all light again. And then he passed him again.

He saw a person coming again; he met him. "Āh, āh!" he was groaning; he was shot in the heart, an arrow stuck to him. A little farther ahead — there he fell down and died. He went farther ahead; he saw a person coming in haste.¹

II. CUSTOMS.

I. MARRIAGE.

Aga kla'xc gi'uxt ak!a'ckac itcxa'n¹ atcucga'ma. Ag' a'lēma wikxi't aniu'xwa na'ika. "It!á'ktiḡ ka'nauwē amcxelq!a'xida ag' a'lēma k'a'dux' wiki'd aniu'xwa. Aga mcgilxa'mam ika'la iqlē'yôqt. Aga wiki'd aniu'xwa; ag'
 5 ana-ixmēla'lēma ika'l' aya'ḡan. Wiki'd anilu'da ag' a'lēma atciu'gwia wi'kit ika'la." Aga 'gidi'mam iqlē'yôqt. "Ag' andi'luda ika'la wiki't. Ag' a'mdiluk!a da'udax." Aga wiki'd ini'ux.

Ag' itcdi'lut idia'kt' ika'la. Ag' itcdi'lut lu'nikc il!a-
 10 itix² iḡi'ḡeltkiu² wikxi't kwô'dau mô'kct itki'udaniukc itgaxamat!a'iyutckēmax itcdi'lut ayaḡa'nba; itca-ixē'mēlal. Aga da'uda ilkdni'tk^{utck} na'it!ax: i'x't ika'-imak kwô'dau i'x't idu'iha qēxē'ldenit kwô'dau mô'kct itp!a'siskwa, wi't!ax na'it!a iqdni'tk^{utck}.

15 Ag' atcucga'm' itcxa'n ak!a'ckac; aya'gikal alaxu'xwa; iga'xux. Aga aḡugwigē'liudama; ag' algiu'k!a itcxa'n aya-gika'lba; alxugwigē'liudama. Ag' a'lēma kwôbā' 'lixa'txa iaqci'ḡba kwô'dau aya'qcix kwô'dau aya'gikal. Aga wi'limḡ igi'xux itcxa'n. Ag' iḡkctka'm naika'ba wô'kcti itcxa'n
 20 aya'gikal, wanda'cti aḡgi'kal inda'ḡan aya'gikal. Qxi'dau ga'ngadiḡ galuxtki'xax itqlē'yôqtikc, wikxi't gayuxwiti'm.

¹ The father of the bridegroom is to be thought of as telling this account.

² Of these two words for "slave," ila'itix belongs more properly to Lower Chinook, but has become current, probably through the medium of the Chinook jargon, in Wishram as well.

II. CUSTOMS.

I. MARRIAGE.

Now my son¹ likes a girl and wants to marry her. So I am to make the bridal purchase. (I say to my assembled acquaintances :) "It is good that you all learn that I intend to-morrow to give the bridal purchase-money. Now do you all go and tell an old man. Now I shall give the purchase-money, now I shall buy from the man his daughter. I shall give him the purchase-money, and the man will take the purchase-money." Now the old man has come (and I say to him): "Now I am to give the man these (things) as purchase-money. Now you shall take these here to him." Now I have made the bridal purchase.

Now he has given the man his things. He has given him as purchase-money three slaves and he has given him two fast-running horses in return for his daughter. He has bought her from him. And also to me they have brought back as wedding-gifts these things: one tanned elk-skin and one ox-hide blanket and two blankets; they have been brought back to me, for my part, as return gifts.

Now my son is ready to marry the girl; she is to become his wife. She has become (his wife). Now the bridegroom's relatives are to go to meet his wife at her house. Now we are to take my son to his wife; we are to meet her at her house. Now there he is to remain with his father-in-law and his mother-in-law and his wife. Now my son has become a married man. Now they have brought back the two of them to live with me, him and my daughter-in-law, my son's wife; she is my and my wife's daughter-in-law, our son's wife. Thus long ago the men of old used to do; they used to get women by giving each other purchase-money.

2. CHILDHOOD.

Cma'nix p' ag' ilí'axan itk!a'ckac p' ag' a'ligima ika'la:¹
 "Aga kanawô' mcti; ag' itcxa'n ilí'axan ifak!ó'its itk!a's-
 kas aga lxó'plxôp aqlu'xa ifa'mL!ôxi itcxa'n ilí'axan."
 Aga kxwô'pt kanauwā'2 'tq^uhí'b' aluxwa'x' ide'lxam. Aga
 5 kxwô'pt tslu'nus itlxlém aqiu'xwa. Aga kxwô'pt aluxif-
 xe'lém' ide'lxam, sã'q^u aluxifxe'léma. Aga kxwô'pt itk!a's-
 kas aqlu'da itq!ē'yôqt ifka'la. Aga kxwô'pt lxó'plxôp
 ałklu'xwa ifamL!ó'xwiba; gwā'nimix ifamL!ó'xi a'nat, wí't!ax
 a'nat gwā'nimix lxó'b' ałklu'xwa itq!ē'yôqt cma'ni pu
 10 ikdu'kul.²

Aga pu ika'-imak dab'³ ixí'mat yu'lgwiat pu kwó'b'
 itk!a'ckac lxó'plxô'b' aqlu'xwa. Aga kxwô'pt pu aqiu'xwa
 lqlu'plqlup ika'-imak tq!ā'b' itgi'łpa h'xad ifgoa'filx. Aga
 kxwô'pt aqia'uwimagwa da'nemax at!u'ksai kwó'dau itk!a'-
 15 muat kwó'dau ak!wa'łq; bu cí'kc aqdu'xwa ide'lxam tq!ē-
 ó'qtikc. Ag' it!u'kt' igí'xux ik!a'ckac a'wate' ak!a'ckac.
 Ittcí'nemax aqxi'fluxwa fómL!ó'ximaxba lxó'plxôp. Cma'ni
 pu klā'ya lxó'plxôp aqlugwa'nimtcgwô pu.

Aga kxwô'pt ifaq!a'qetaq iqí'limatsudit⁺ aqilxxa'-ima
 20 ifap!a'qx' aqiflu'xwa. Cma'ni pu klā'ya dap!ā'ł ifap!a'qxa
 ifaq!a'qetaq p' aqlugwó'nimtcgwa. Cma'ni pu ifqa'gilak
 ifa'wanb' itk!a'ckac p' alu'meqt' aluxwí'nimitcgwa ide'lxam
 gwe'nem' ifgoā'max; tq!ē'x aqlu'xw' itk!a'ckac. Gwe'nem'
 aga'lax aluxwí'nimitcgwa ide'lxam. Wí't!a da'-itck' alu-
 25 xwí'xe'léma k'a'dux ix'tka'dix' aga wí'zgwa da'ne luqx k!ma
 fga'blad itga'lxlém.⁵ Qxē'dau ga'ngadix' gałxtki'xax ifa'-
 xluit.

¹ That is, his father. This account is told from the point of view of the child's paternal grandfather.

² That is, one who is practised in the operation is selected, not any one at random.

2. CHILDHOOD.

If now he should have a child, a baby, then the man¹ would say: "Do you all now come! Now my son has a child, a little baby, and the ears of my son's child will have holes pierced into them." And then all the people get to be in the house. And then a little food is prepared. Now then the people eat, all eat. And then the baby is given to an old man. Now then he pierces holes into the child's ears, — five holes in one of his ears, again five holes in the other does the old man make, if he should know how to do it.²

Now here³ a tanned elk-skin lies spread out, thereon the baby has his (ears) pierced. And then the tanned elk-skin is cut up into pieces enough for one pair of moccasins (as gift) for each person. And then various (other) things are distributed: small baskets, and horse-hair rope, and twined basket-bags. Gifts would be made to the people, the old people. Now the boy or the girl has become good. Beads are strung through holes in the child's ears. If it did not have its (ears) pierced, it would be laughed at.

And then a head-flattener⁴ is laid on its head, is put on its forehead. If its head should not have a flattened forehead, it would be laughed at. If a woman should die with a child in her womb, the people would mourn for five days; they like a child. Five days the people mourn. Again they eat once in the morning and are without swallowing anything all day long, yet they have lots of food.⁵ Thus long ago the Wishram used to do.

³ Indicated by gesture.

⁴ Any piece of hard wood or skin made to fit on the child's forehead as it lies wrapped on the cradle-board.

⁵ That is, it is not for lack of food that they refrain from eating.

3. DEATH.

Cma'nix p' ika'la ixí'al p' ayu'meqta pu aluxwí'nîmte-
 gwa ide'l̥xam. Tq!é'x p' aqiu'xwa; ka'nauwē dan p' it!u'kt'
 aqí'luda. Sā'2q^u k!a'uk!au aqdí'luxwa itci'nEMax it!a'-
 inike¹ itq!a'mucekcek kwó'dau ika'lخالuke² ia'lqba aqlil-
 5 l̥xwó'ya. Aga k̥xwó'pt p' aluxwí'nîmteqwa teā'il̥xam aga'lax.
 Wít!a da'ukwa agagi'lak wa'liq pu 'lu'meqta. Alu'meqta
 pu wa'liq sā'q^u itklí'max itq!a'mucekcek it!a'-inike itci'ne-
 max aqla'luxwa kwó'dau it̥ska'gEMax. Lq!u'p alax'uxwa
 wak̥xa'q itgôml̥lu'xiba ca'xaladamt. Wít!ax da'ukwa wi-
 10 t̥c̥m̥ a-ilq!oā'b alixu'xwa ifiēna'l̥xat. Wít!ax dō'ukwa
 kā'nauwē łacu'xtike.

Aga yu'meqt. Ag' aqiu'k̥la tk!í'm̥x̥atgEMaxiamt; idmē'-
 meluctikepa aqiu'tgama. Aga qiu'kt̥; tgí'd aga palala'í
 l̥ga'blad ide'l̥xam tgí'wad it̥mē'meluct q̥lu'kt̥. Cma'nix
 15 p' ayu'meqt' ika'la p' aluxwí'nEMiteqwa; tq!é'x aqiu'xwa;
 it!u'kti yagó'menił ka'nauwē ca'nba. Teā'il̥xam aga'lax
 ak!u'n̥ g̥wē'nema aga'lax p' aluxwí'nEMiteqwa. Wít!ax
 da'ukw' agagi'lak; it!u'kt' itcagó'menił kwó'dau q̥xo'q̥e-
 mitp' at!u'kt' itca'lgulitpa.

4. MEDICINE-MEN.

20 Cma'nix pu imi'tgEMEM amxu'xwa aga k̥xwó'pt amx-
 l̥uxwa'-ida: "Ca'n anłge'lgaya it!u'kti it!a'gēwam?" Am-
 lu'da lu'n̥ itki'udaniuke kwó'dau mô'ket̥ iduiha'max kwó'-
 dau môkct̥l̥é'ał̥ ida'la. Ixu'lal̥ idia'gēwam: "Nā'qxi tla'í'
 aniu'xwa; cpa'g̥ iategē'mEM iki'xax." Ik!u'n̥ i'x̥at̥ idia'gē-

¹ it!a'-inike: said to be very valuable and to have been made by California Indians.

² Probably Chinese coins, which were current along the Columbia River at the

3. DEATH.

If a young man should die, the people mourn. He is liked; he is given all kinds of good things. All over (his body) are tied on to him beads of sea-fish bones, sea-shell beads,¹ round glass beads, and strings of brass square-holed coins;² they are put around him on his body (on neck and arms). And then they mourn for ten days. Again, so also (it is done) if a virgin woman dies. If a virgin dies, there are put all over her woven cloth, round glass beads, sea-shell beads, fish-bone beads, and bracelets. Her mother cuts off (her hair) down to her ears. Again, so also her father just cuts off his head-hair. Again, so also all her relatives.

Now (suppose a man) is dead. Then he is to be taken to the burial vault³ and deposited among the dead. Now he is being carried and very many people go following him, (as) the dead person is being carried. If a man should die, the (people) mourn. He is liked; his heart was good to everybody. Ten days and five days they mourn. Again, so also (in case of) a woman. Good was her heart and, when looked at, good her appearance.

4. MEDICINE-MEN.

If you should become sick, then you think to yourself: "Whom shall I take that is a good medicine-man?" You give him three horses and two oxen and twenty dollars. The medicine-man says: "I shall not succeed in making him well, he is too sick." One more medicine-man has

time of the early coast traders. Cf. Chinook *iqā'lxal* "gambling disks."

³ See A. B. Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley and the Coast of Washington and Oregon*, *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. I, p. 171.

wam iqigē'lga; ag' icmô'ket icxu'x. Iqdi'lut la'kt itki'udaniukc a'-ix't adu'iha k!ma ya'filxam ida'la kwô'dau mô'ket itpa'iskwa.

Ag' ixu'lal idia'gēwam: "Ag' it!u'ktiḡ atxugwi'la-ida; 5 saibā' 'txugwi'la-ida. Aga t!a'y' atgiu'xwa." Ag' ixu'lal idia'gēwam: "Ma'ika lga nimxlu'xwa-it yak!a'mela-ix'idmigē'wôm. Da'uya lga kwô'ba yatcge'mem nigixux qxa'dagatci ag' atxigi'la-ida. Aga t!a'i' alixu'xwa. QE-negi mxlu'xwan idia'gēwam ma'it!ax?" Ixu'lal: "Aga ā' 10 atxigi'la-ida aga ka'nactmôket." Acdigi'la-ida aga na'qx' it!u'kt' igixux. Ag' iu'meqt ika'la. Ka'nactmôket iqcu'wôq iteda'gēwam nictigidla'lit. Aga cda'xdau icdak!a'mela; tge'wam nicgixux.

Wit! i'xat yatcge'mem igixux. Aga wit! iqigēlg' 15 idia'gēwam; iqdi'lut mô'ket itki'udaniukc kwô'dau lu'n itpa'iskwa kwô'dau ya'filxam ida'la. Wit! iqxa'gelg' agagi'lak alugwi'la-ida. Iqda'lut iqda'lmimtum i'x't ikiu'tan kwô'dau a'-ix't adu'iha kwô'dau mô'ket itpa'iskwa kwô'dau gwe'nem' ida'la. Ag' actugwi'la-ida, ag' icguxa'-ima it- 20 gô'ugôumat² ag' igla'lam; yugwi'lalit idia'gēwam.

Ag' ixu'lal idia'gēwam: "Aga nā'qx' ayu'meqta; aga t!ā'¹ 'ntgiu'xwa." Wit!a da'ukw' axu'lal agagi'lak itga'gēwam: "Aga nā'qx' ayu'meqta; aga t!a'i' antgiu'xwa." Aga cxu'lal: "Ag' a'lema k'a'dux antx^uk!wa'ya aga sa'q^u 25 andigi'la-ida." Aga dai ictugwi'la-it sa'q^u. Aga kxwô'pt acx^uk!wa'ya; cxu'lal: "Aga qa'xb' itkiu'daniukc?"³ Tctugwa'lemamt ik!a'ckac itkiu'daniukc. Aga p!ā'l' iu!a'-it ia'tc-

¹ Equivalent to t!a'y' antgiu'xwa.

² In both the medicine-man's song and the gambling song a deafening accom-

been taken; now they are two. He has been given four horses, one cow and ten dollars, and two blankets.

Now the medicine-man says: "Now it is well that we two doctor, we shall doctor right. Now we two shall make him well." And the medicine-man says (to his companion): "It seems that you thought you are a poor medicine-man. It seems that this man over there has become sick, so that we two shall doctor him now. Now he will get well. What do you think, O medicine-man, for your part?" He says: "Yes! now both of us shall doctor him." The two of them doctor him, but he has not got well. Now the man dies. Both of the medicine-men are killed, (who) were doctoring him. Those two were wicked, they had "shot" him.

Again one man has become sick. And again a medicine-man has been taken; he has been given two horses, and three blankets, and ten dollars. Also a woman has been taken (who) is to doctor. She has been given, has been paid as her fee, one horse, and one cow, and two blankets, and five dollars. Now the two of them doctor; now they have put down time-beating sticks² and he sings; the medicine-man keeps on doctoring.

Now the medicine-man says: "Now he will not die, now we two shall make him well." Again, just so the medicine-woman says: "Now he will not die, now we two shall make him well." Now the two of them say: "Now to morrow we two shall go home and we shall completely doctor him." Now the two of them have just completely doctored him. And then they are about to go home. They say: "Now where are the horses?"³

paniment is made by the beating of sticks (*itgôu'gôumat*) on a long plank spread out before the medicine-man's or gambler's assistants.

³ That means, horses in payment of their services.

gEMEM; ag' itcló'qxEMct itu'luck¹ kwó'dau itlcqoa' ia'mqt.
Aga tla'i' alixu'xwa; aga tla'i' igi'xux.

5. CLOTHING.

Ga'ngadiḡ k!ā'y' itquítquit; aic ts!u'nus dan iql'alalEC
iana'ixat a-ik!a'u ifaqui'tba. K!ā'y' itsta'gin; ga'ngadiḡ
5 wa'tckti aqaxi-ilgui'amida itgi'fbaba. Kwó'dau itc!a'ng
iap!a'skwal da'ukw' iēna'ixat aqdu'xw' itgi'fpa idal!a'iumit.
Isk!u'ly' ameni isga'k!aps aqsu'xwa iñēxa'qctaq da'uk'
ista'naixat. Isk!u'ly' ENegi iap!a'skwal aqdu'xwa itkcié'NE-
mat, kwó'dau aqēXE'lhxwaya. Alk!wa'dit ameni aqiu'xwa
10 sik!E'nḡat; a-istā'x alifxELu'xwa ifapu'tcba dal!ā' itga'ba-iḡ.
Aqó'xwa wó'q!q² ifa'fpa, aḡgiu'xwa isk!u'ly' ameni; cma'-
nix iql'alalEC iap!a'skwal ya'xliu i'f!q!q.² K!ā'y' itcE't.

Ga'ngadiḡ k!ā'y' atli'wat; k!ā'y' aq!ē'wiqxē; k!ā'y' ic-
gwó'lala; k!ā'y' iql!f'sten. Itqlu'tc'³ a'meni tSE'xtSEX gaq-
15 tu'x itkla'munak. Aka'cat,⁴ amu'tan:⁴ Gā'2ngadiḡ ga-
qxó'x' alxu'lat; gatku'x Nadida'nuit da'uax a'xka. Aga
da'uaya wi'gwa k!ā'ya.

6. FIRST SALMON CATCH.

Q!atSE'n⁵ aqxigE'lGay' igu'nat walxi'ba. Aqxiugwó'pga.
Kanauwā'2 ayuxwi'mux' itq!ē'yôqtikc ts!u'nusmax. A'xt'
20 aqxo'xwa sū't wa'lxi.

¹ itu'luck is a kind of soup made of heads of salmon and white salmon.

² These words may be translated "sleeveless shirt." They contain the same stem (-qtq) and differ only in gender (fem. and neut. respectively).

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A boy goes to get the horses. Now the sick man has remained quiet; now the sick man has drunk fish-soup¹ and water. Now he will get well; now he has got well.

5. CLOTHING.

In olden times people wore no trousers; just a slight affair (made of) a raccoon's scalp was fastened about one's legs. There were no stockings; long ago a man would spread out grass in the moccasins. And warm moccasins were made out of a deer's hide, its scalp, as above. A hat was made out of a coyote's head, two of their scalps, as above. Out of a coyote's hide gloves were made, and (coyote skin) was worn around the neck. Out of tule a twined fabric was made; a person would wrap it about his buttocks so as to keep warm wherever there was snow. A "wôqłq"² was put on a person's body; he would make it out of coyote (skin). If (made out of) raccoon's skin, its name was "iłqłq."² There was no shirt.

In olden times there was no bucket, no knife, no gun, no ax. Trees were split by means of bones.³ In olden times dip-nets were made out of "Indian string";⁴ this it is (*pointing to specimen*) out of which Indians made them. But nowadays, not so.

6. FIRST SALMON CATCH.

A salmon is caught at the fishing post for the first time.⁵ It is steamed on hot rocks. All of the old men eat it, each a small piece. That fishing post is (thus) made lucky.

³ That is, elk antler wedges.

⁴ aka'cat is the material itself (*Apocynum cannabinum*, Indian hemp), amu'tan the string ready for use.

⁵ The first catch of the season is meant.

7. ERECTION OF STAGINGS AT CASCADES.

Aga tca'gwa-ix' aqcutx'wí'tcgw' ice'lxl̄x̄max. Lx̄ó'p-
 Lx̄òp aqiawi'xa ittse'menemax.¹ Ag' ittcqoa' 'ldi'a tca-
 gwa'-icq. Kela'-ix' itgoa'fil̄x̄ lax̄ema'gapx'.² qux̄winxa'nan
 ittse'menemax, t̄lat̄x̄ē'wul̄x̄ itka'la. K'atk'a'dmax itgwa-
 5 kla'nq'³ ittcqoa'. Qā'xw' a'fak̄x̄k!a'gw' a'x̄k' a'niwad aqxa-
 gem̄xa'gaba. Aq̄t̄ge'lgaya it̄ax̄ka da'u' itka'la it̄ax̄emagapx'
 wal̄xi'ba. Aquqtli'l̄x̄' ade'x̄dex. A-ik!a'u aq̄tu'xw' ita-
 wa'nba ilipa'g enegi. Aga k̄xw'ó'pt it̄x̄li'wix' kla'u it̄lu'xtix'
 bama nā'qxi t̄c̄xa' k̄t̄uyem. Aga k̄xw'ó'pt a'figu'l̄x̄' ikla'-
 10 munak q̄xe'mk̄xit adigla'id' ide'l̄x̄am bama nā'qx' ayula-
 pla'tcgux̄wida.

Łga'gelgat ats!e'mena; aga it̄x̄leq̄la't qa'xba yaglu'xtix'.⁴
 Aga ts̄sk!el̄u'tkt ittcqoa' q̄xe'negi it̄u'x̄wunit. Da'uk̄lu'g
 a'f̄ax̄a'tx' ittcqoa'. Aga k̄xw'ó'pt le'b a'f̄ga'tx' ats!e'mena
 15 dak̄xw'ó'l̄ nā'wit; q̄xat̄gi'a kw'ó'ba dats̄āgw'ôu' q̄ā'x̄lkun
 a'f̄gut̄x̄emi'da. Nā'wit kla'u a'f̄gagu'xw' ade'x̄dex a'x̄ka
 qx' it̄aku't̄x̄; nā'wit aq̄f̄ak̄xa'tgwaya it̄ka'l̄amat it̄x̄li'wix̄.
 Wit!a da'ukwa i'nat. Kw'ôda'u aq̄dakt̄cl̄é'q̄lgw' it̄ka'l̄-
 munak; k!auk!a'u aqu'xwa it̄bi'na't̄x̄ enegi. Ag' a'f̄cx'u't̄-
 20 ga'xid' ice'l̄xl̄x̄. Ak!u'n' a'f̄akta'gwa; da'ukwa wit!' aq̄xa-
 gem̄xa'gaba. Cda'xtau q̄x̄el̄xu't̄ bam' ice'l̄xl̄x̄. Q̄x̄ē'd'
 icda'x̄emagapx'.⁵ K!ā'ya c̄eiwat̄k!a'ck' it̄goa'fil̄x̄ a'f̄cgem̄xa'-
 gaba; q̄xa'daga kela'-ix' it̄goa'fil̄x̄ it̄ax̄emagapx'. Q̄xi'-
 dauemax.

¹ Borings have been made some distance out from the shore when the water was low. Into these holes the poles are later to be set as supports for the fishing platform.

² Equivalent to t̄f̄ax̄ema'gapx'.

7. ERECTION OF STAGINGS AT CASCADES.

Now in summer stagings are prepared. Holes are made for the staging-poles.¹ Now the water comes, summer water. A special person, a workingman, is set aside for setting in the staging-poles; he is a strong man. Every now and then the water comes up in time to use them.³ Whichever fishing-post it fits, that one is first worked at. He is taken to the fishing-post, this workingman; a fir sapling is pushed out from shore so as to balance and the man is tied with a rope about his belly. And then the rope is (also) tied on to the shore, so that he may not be drowned. And then he walks out on the tree trunk and at the other end the people sit on it, so that it may not tilt up.

The man holds a staging-pole and he knows where it is prepared for it.⁴ Now he looks to see how the water flows. The water slackens in its course. And then he drives the staging pole under water so that it fits right in its place. Sometimes it misses there, but after a while he sets it up. Immediately he ties on to it the fir sapling on which he has walked out; immediately rocks are piled on it on shore. Again, (it is done) thus on the other side. And logs are put crosswise over the saplings and they are tied by means of hazel ropes. Now the staging is finished. The water comes up to another fishing-post; again, as before, they work at it. That staging is for fishing with dip-nets. Thus is the work done on it.⁵ Not any person taken at random can work at it; a person just for that particular purpose (is employed) as workingman. That is how things are.

³ Literally, "it fits them."

⁴ He knows just where the holes are which have been dug for the reception of the staging-poles.

⁵ Literally, "thus is its work."

8. RIGHT TO FISH-CATCHES.

Ałxi'lxuł' a'watci łgutxemi't iłgoa'filx kwô'ba pā't ide'l-xam idabi'tcem tq!ē'yôqtikc. Alilila'-idam' ixq!ē'walal. Cma'nix p!ā'l' ałgigatxa'-ima-axdix' ice'lxtxb' ałtxui'da fıxa't iłabi'tcem; łgiwô'gw' ałgiugwi'lēlx' aga ya'xtau łaxka' 5 bama łgiubi'tcema. Cma'n' alilila'-idama da'ukwa mô'kct da'ukwa lu'n alilila'-idama aluxta'tcgwam' ałkdugwatxa'-ima-ulxema. Cma'ni p!ā'la fıxa'd wi't!ax ałkdugwi'lēlx' ałkdudi'naya łaxka' bam' ałkdubi'tcema. Cma'n' alilila'-idama da'ukw' alilila'-idam' aluxta'tcgwam' ałtx'wi'da da'b' 10 iłabi'tcem ałxatgē'lxem' ała'lxuł' iłapu'tcb' aga da'xtau łaxka' bama; łā'p ałula'-id' iłabi'tcem. Aga da'ukw' itkla'nī.

9. TRAINING FOR STRENGTH AT CASCADES.

Ałxela'y'¹ iłk!a'ckac ałkdu'naxl' ilxē'wulx; sa'q^u qē'negi wi'lx kwô'dau itpogo'xmax ałuwacgi'wagwô'tcgwa. Ik^ca'- 15 qxemit ałgiuktca'nema; ya'xka qxi tēlu'la tēi'flud ik^ca'-qxemit. Qē'negi ya'xa'qxemit ha'-ai da'ukwa ałxi'luxwa kwô'dau atclxi'maya. Cma'nix atclxi'maya bam' ilxē'wulx ałkługwi'' iłk!a'lamat. Qa'xb' atclxni'ma-axdix'a kwôb' ałkługwi'a. Qxa'ntcipt ałkła'tgway' atclulxamabā't. Cma'- 20 nix kwô'pt ałkługwi'a aga ya'xdau pā't ałgiu'xwa ya'xa'-qxemit. Cma'nix a-itsxe'p³ wi't!a k^ca'dux' xa'bix'ix' atclxi'-maya; hā'-ai ya'xa'qxemit pā't ałgiu'xwa kwô'dau stu'x'w ałxu'xwa.

İagikcta'menił³ li'xat aga daxka' bama lu'pgenat İkdu-

¹ Literally, "moves himself."

8. RIGHT TO FISH-CATCHES.

(Where) a person fishes with dip-net or sets his net, there it is full of old people who have come to get fish. A fish comes into his net. If he quietly puts it down on the staging, some one, who has come to get fish, stands up; that one kills it, keeps tapping it, and that (fish) he has obtained for himself. If a fish comes into his net, just so if two, just so if three come into his net, they come out to the surface of the water and he hauls them up on to the staging. If he lets them lie, again some one keeps tapping them, kills them, and obtains them for himself. If a fish comes into his net, just so if several fish come into his net, they come out to the surface of the water; a person, who has come here to get fish, stands up, (but) the dip-net fisherman slaps himself on his buttocks and those (fish) belong to himself; those who have come to get fish sit squatting. Now thus the tale.

9. TRAINING FOR STRENGTH AT CASCADES.

A boy trains,¹ he looks for strength; he travels over all kinds of land and mountains. He takes a command with him; he who trains him gives him a command. Whatever the (trainer) commands, that he must do for him before he lets him go. If he sends him off, he carries rocks for strength. Wherever the (trainer) directs him (to carry them), there he carries them; he piles up as many (rocks) as he tells him to. If he carries that many, then he fulfils that command of his. If he falls short,² the (trainer) sends him off again next day in the evening; he must fulfil his order before he is released.

An inspector,³ a certain person appointed just for those

² Of he gets exhausted before the directed amount of work is done.

³ Literally, "his always coming to look after things."

xwôketa'menił da'-itcka qxi uxwa'la idaḡema'gapx'. Da'u-
yaḡ íx't ik'a'qxemit wí't! ilxē'wulx bama. Ałú'ya ḡa'bi-
x'ix' inatcka'nlit enegi idbi'nałx ałkduxwa'ma.¹ Ya'ḡka
ik'a'qxemit atciuxwa yakli'la; qa'uad idbi'nałx ałkdu'xw'
5 iłk!a'ckac, atcłxuketa'ma yagiketa'menił. Cma'nix atcdi-
ila'ma yakli'la kwô'pt natcdupgenayabā't stu'ḡ" ałxu'xwa
łaxka qxi łxela'.

10. WINTER BATHING.

A'ngadix' nk!a'ckacbet itql'ē'yôqtike qxa'nutck atgiu'xwa
tcage'lqlix'. Aḡa kwô'ba nxugu'itcatkt. Aqnôłxa'ma :
10 "Cma'n' amugopti'da a'-itsḡep nā'wit amxqwô'dama ;
cma'nix k!ā'y' amugopti'da k!ā'y' amḡwa'dama." Yaḡ'
itck!a'xc iqxa'nutck nk!a'ckacbet aḡ' adnenk!na'mḡida
da'ḡka da'ud aqxnulḡa'm' aḡ' anxuguwi'tcatkema. Cma'ni
ā'-itsḡeb anugopti'da sa'q" ałıxu'łḡw' aqxenugo'tcḡema.
15 Ałḡenu'łḡam' iłql'ē'yôqt: "Mḡḡwa'tam." Kí'nua ql'ē'm
anxu'xw' aḡa dnu qxa'daḡa hā'-ai 'nu'ya. Da'kdag aq-
nu'xwa ngaq"da'tḡ qa'xb' iłełeqłat' fiabla'd ika'ba ô'watci
da'ukwa daq!a'b iḡi'gat.

Ałḡi'neluda iql'í'sten bama capca'p qiuxu'nnił ika'ba.
20 Ałḡenulḡa'ma: "Sāq" lxô'b amiu'xwa-aḡdix'a; le'b am-
xu'xwa, amḡkta'tcḡw', amxelḡa'ḡw', asemḡelu'tka a'tpḡiamd
aḡa'łax, wā' 'mxu'xw' amḡlú'maya; le'b amxu'xw', amḡ-
ta'tcḡw' asemḡelu'tka tc!é'qłkemt giga'd, wā' nā'wid wí't!
amxu'xwa; le'b amxu'xw', amḡda'tcḡwa, wí't!a daukw' am-
25 ḡlú'maya, iwa'd asemḡelu'tka tc!é'qłkemt; le'b amxu'xw',
amḡda'tcḡw', asemḡelu'tk' u'lpqdiamd aḡa'łax, wā' 'mxu'-

¹ Ropes made like twisted hazel switches, such as were commonly employed to tie timber.

things, looks after the work of those who are training. This one command is also for strength. He goes out at night, he goes to make twisted wood-ropes¹ out of a grove of oak saplings. He, the trainer, gives the order; the inspector goes to see how many wood-ropes the boy makes. If he reports to the trainer (that he has done) as many as he had apportioned, the one that trains is released. (If not, he must try again.)

10. WINTER BATHING.

A long while ago, when I was a boy, the old men would tell myths in winter. Now there I was listening to them. I would be told: "If you fall asleep before it is finished, straightway you will have to go and bathe. If you do not fall asleep, you will not go and bathe." Now I was fond of myths when I was a boy, so I would be satisfied with the things that I was told and would listen to them. If I fell asleep too early, (when) it was all finished, they would wake me up. An old man would say to me: "Go in bathing!" I would try to refuse, but in vain, so I just had to go. I was undressed entirely naked where he knew there was lots of ice or also where it was pressed together tight.

He would give me an ax for chopping up the ice. He would say to me: "You will chop right through it, you will dive under water, you will stick your head out, you will turn around, you will look to the rising sun, you will cry out 'wā!', you will shout. You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, you will look across this way (*i. e.*, *north*), straightway you will again shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, again you will shout as before, you will look across yonder (*i. e.*, *south*). You will duck down

xwa; le'b amxu'xwa řagwe'nemix', mřda'tcgw', aminxa'-nauenř' igu'cax, wā' 'mxu'xw', aga kō'pt, amřatk!wa'ya."

- 'Ga ya'řdau andi'mamabet aga a'ngadix' ugwi'řx'ix' watu'ř, iřgna'řxat qxemx'i'udemax itanři'qřřq iřkk!wa'iulkt.
- 5 Qxnulřa'ma: "Nā'qxi qsakli'delk wa'tuř; iwa'd emxel-ga'gwa, imipu'tc ya'lud wa'tuř; p'ū' agemu'řwa k'we'ldix', agemu'řwa k'u'ldix' amū'mda." Ya'řtau qxē'dau ga-qxe'ntx bama klā'y' iřa'mqt kwō'dau ilařxē'wulř, a'watci da'ukwa iyu'řmax giřgelxu'lal. Aga ga'nuit nk!a'ckac bama'
- 10 klā'ya qxa'ntciř itetcge'mem; da'minua tkřxē'wulř; klma klā'ya ganigi'tkel dan ia'xleu iyu'řmax,¹ qe'negi řkā'n iālgwi'lit. Cma'ni klā'y' ika'ba wi'mařba ix'tma'řix' akni'm a'watci abu'd iē'luxt; řaka'řt' iřtcqoa' řenxelgwō'da. Abu'd a'watci 'kni'm řcta'cq tcage'lqřix' tēřelbō'niř da'minua a'ic
- 15 qxi ma'nk ts!u'nus a-itsā's. Qxi'dau.

11. RAINBOW AND MOON SIGNS.

- Incak!ē'cmanix wima'ř bama. Cma'nix ayuřwi'da² imqxa'tc qucti'ařa ya'řdau ařdu'ma iřgagi'lak. Qa'řba li'řatmax iak!a'mela iřa'mqřate. Cma'nix tcagwa'iř cpa'k aga'řax alaxu'xa, anne'nena ala'řřaya; yařa cma'nix it!u'kti iřa'm-
- 20 qřate yařa tca'ctcic. Da'ukwa tcaře'lqřřix aga ařuřa'-ida iřtga'; cma'nix ia'k!amelā imqxa'tc, ka'nawi dan alixu'řwa icg'i'řti ikxa'lal dan wika'q; yařa da'uka iřa'mqřate it!u'kti alixu'řwa l!ā'l!a klma tcaře'lqřřix. Da'uya tlu'nwit inca-k!ē'cmanix na'qxi nca'imadike incaře'luit; qxi'dau ya'řka

¹ Literally, "what its name a guardian spirit." "Not what" = nothing.

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under water, you will stick your head out, you will look to the setting sun, you will shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water for the fifth time, you will stick your head out, you will look up to the sky. Then enough; you will return home."

Now when I came home, a fire was already burning. On the ends of my head-hair icicles were dangling. I would be told: "Don't be looking at the fire; turn away from it, present your buttocks to the fire. It will quickly blow at you and make you grow quickly." That is how I was done. to in order not to be sick and in order to be strong, or, just so, in order to prepare one for a guardian spirit. And indeed ever since I was a child I have never been sick; I have always been strong. But not at all have I seen anything that they call a guardian spirit,¹ I do not know what it is like. Sometimes, although there is no ice in the river, it is present in a canoe or a boat; in that same water I would bathe myself. In winter the water of a boat or canoe always freezes, which is just a little bit cool. Thus.

II. RAINBOW AND MOON SIGNS.

(These are) our signs, who dwell along the river. If a rainbow appears,² truly (it signifies) that a woman will give birth to a child. Once in a while some one has a bad rainbow. If it is summer, (this signifies that) the sun will be strong, he will sting and burn; if, however, he has a good rainbow, then it will be nice and cool. Just so in winter snow will fall, when the rainbow is bad; everything (bad) will happen — rain, west wind, or east wind. Just so, however, (if) one has a good rainbow, it will be nice and warm, even though it be

² Literally "stands."

wē'maŋ; qxi'dau kā'nawi da'itcka ki'kct ada'wawat.¹ Ixt-
ma'x aqxigēlgēla'ya mōkct ixtka'dix; quct ya'xdau ic-
q!ŋ'nya.

Cma'nix aqxage'lgēlaya ak^uLmi'n xa'bixix iq!ēxa'neba
5 q!wa'p tcu'wat ina'tkadix ya'xdau quct aga q!wā'p iŋpa'ŋ-
qau aŋxu'xwa iŋgagi'lak. Cma'nix aqxage'lgēlaya ak^uLmi'n
cgu'wat ctmōkct icq!ēxa'neba ya'xdau iŋgagi'lak aŋu'meqda
kwō'dau icga'yan aŋxla'-ida. Yaŋa cma'nix wa'xix aqxa-
gē'lgēlaya ak^uLmi'n imqxa'tc yaŋla'dak^ut quct ya'xdau
10 aqxixitpcu'da. Tcaŋe'lqlix wā'xwaŋ ak^uLmi'n atkba'-iwa
tsmani'x qxu'qemit; klayā' aluxwa'nimananma ada'kcen
engī. Itkli'fawa iaga'ŋ itca'tcaq alixu'xwa; ma'sa pu ala-
xu'xwa ak^uLmi'n.

12. SHAKER GRACE AT TABLE.²

Ma'ri na'ika wa'naqc! Ag' inigē'mla-it ila'dam. Ag'
15 ipŋē'x aniē'lux' aklu'tk. Ngitxudi'nemtck h'd iŋkē'waŋ ŋla-
da'm.³ Da'uya (*pointing with right hand to head*) wia'm,
da'uya (*pointing to breast*) yaŋa'n, da'uy' (*pointing to heart*)
itlu'kti yagō'meniŋ. Q'ŋdau gwā'nīsīm itlu'kti.

¹ Literally "they 'kiket' their-speech." "Kiket" is a term that embraces the various probably mutually intelligible dialects of Upper Chinook: Wasco, Wishram, White Salmon (= Mooneys' Chilūktwa), Hood River and Cascades (Kwikwilit), and Kathlamet and Clackamas.

² Of the three Christian sects now represented among the Indians of Yakima

winter. This, to be sure, is not the sign of us Wishrams alone. Thus indeed all along the river; thus (believe) all those who speak as we do.¹ Sometimes two (rainbows) are seen at once. Truly that (signifies) twins.

If at night the moon is seen with a star closely following her to one side, that truly (signifies that) now some woman is soon to become a widow. If the moon is seen with two stars following her, that (signifies that) the woman will die and her two children will die. Now if, when it is yet daylight, the moon is seen with a rainbow about it, truly that (signifies that) somebody will be murdered secretly. In winter, (when) the moon shines very brightly, the people all go out, plainly she is seen; they never point her out to one another with their fingers. It is a bad sign, a great frost will take place; the moon would become ashamed (if pointed at).

12. SHAKER GRACE AT TABLE.²

Mary, my mother! Now I am sitting at the table. Now I shall put medicine into my spirit. Help me, give light for the tables.³ This is the father, this his son, this his good heart (= the holy ghost). Thus always good (= Amen).

Reservation (Catholics, Methodists, and Shakers), the Shakers are probably the most religious. A number of Wishram hymns and religious texts are in use among them. See Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion* (14th An. Report Bur. of Eth., Pt. 2, pp. 746-763).

³ This probably means, "Illuminate my spirit while I eat."

III. LETTERS.¹

1.

Ninigi'tg' imitc!a'xwi. Aga sa'q^u ninxi'tx:witck^{ut} pu ninu'-
 ya ninix:matk!i'nuaba itce'lx k!m' aga ninigi'tg' imitc!a'xwi
 nimxtki'm k!a'ya kwô'ba yaxemak!i'q^uniñ ya'iqdix: alitk!wa'-
 alakwida. Aga da'yax tq!é'x endu'xt anxelēq!a'xida cma'-
 5 nix lq!ā'p pu aniugumak!i'nuaba itce'lx da'uaya k!ma'la-
 lidix: Tq!é'x endu'xt anxitq!a'xida ma'ikayamt k'u'lt.
 Ninxi'tluxwan pu anu'ya k'u'ldix: q!a'tsen ag' acenxat-
 wô'gw' aga na'qxi nxe'lq!at da'n aniu'xwa. Qa'dec ga'nuit
 anxitq!a'xida maika'yamt. Na'qx' itlu'kti-ix: inxgigla'-
 10 gwax k!ma nā'qxi dnux enxi'mad itcteg'emem k!ma' dnux
 a'-ic nā'qx' itlu'kti-ix: inxgi'glagwax lux'wa'n qxe'negi.
 Amiḡa'n *M. W.*

2.

Niniqi'lgix, ninxatk!wa', nindi'mam mô'kctba wi'gwa
 ya'filxam di'ndin. Ninigi'tg' igoā'filx itexa'n kwaic ia'-
 15 gwômenit k!ma' dnux na'ikab' itkxa'dagwax k!a'ya ya-
 gwô'menit wi't! ix't wi'gwa. Iba'cten idiaxila'lit nigixtki'm
 k!a'ya yagô'menit mô'kct itgwô'mex q!a'tsen. Nadida'nuit
 tgaxi'lalit digemxa'gapx: Ayamelu'xwam' itc!a'xwi qxa'n-
 tcix wi't!a cma'nix itexa'n alide'meqta. Inxlu'xwan k!a'y'
 20 ayamgi'tgelx ya'iqdix: Cma'ni can lgnu'k^{wul} na'gwatx
 amxalik^uli'tcgwa itexa'nba. Akx'a'n nigimelutam itc!a'-
 xwi; lux'wa'n ninigi'tga. Ya'xtau itc!a'xwi nimi'nit nig-
 di'mam ninu'yabet. Qxi'dau da'uda sâ'q^u.

¹ The four letters here given were translated into Wishram by my interpreter, Pete McGuff, from the English versions given unaltered above, written by Indians who have been to school. The idea that prompted the procuring of these trans-

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III. LETTERS.¹

1.

I got your letter. I was ready to go and change my land, but after I got your letter you said the allotment-agent would be gone for a while, so then, now I want to know if I will be in time to change my land, if I wait until this fall. You let me hear from you soon. I thought I would go over and stay two weeks but now pretty soon I'll be busy and I don't hardly know what to do. Be sure and let me hear from you soon. I'm not feeling very well although I am not down sick, but I just don't feel good somehow. Your daughter M. W.

2.

I started for home and got here Tuesday at 10 o'clock, found my poor boy still alive but still, in my judgment, he won't live another day. The white doctor said he could not live for two days at first. The Indian doctors are working on him. I'll write some time again if my son dies. I don't think I'll see you for a long time. If anyone knows me I wish you let them know of my poor son. My daughter wrote you, I suppose you got the letter. The letter you wrote me came when I was gone. This is all.

lations was mainly to secure a small body of illustrations of verb forms not ordinarily found except in conversation.

Klickitat Version of Same Letter.¹

Wí'namac, tu'xemac, yá'nawiac ne'pík!wipa pu'tamtpa
 I came, I came home, I arrived here second-day-on ten-at
 wié'slikt. Au'yaxnac inemi cnua'i mié'neC ä'xwi wā'q!ac
 time. I found my poor child still alive
 ku inmi'pa pxu' tcaW iwa'da anate!a'xi na'xc ik!wi'. Kxu'ix
 and my-in judgment not he will again one day. White
 twa'ti (i)na'txaana tcaW iwô'utk^{uta} ni'pt. Tí'n twa'tima
 doctor he said not he will stay two. Indian doctors
 over night
 paku'tkutca bôwapi'taca. A'nate!aximac mün ni'ikta ti'mac
 they are working they are helping him. Again I you some will give letter
 time

3.

Mxe'lqfat qe'negi ninxtki'xax niamqi'lqbet. Ninxa'tx
 te^uxanba gō'fq itgwó'max. *May* la'ktix nigatgu'it mó'ket
 di'ndin ik!u'n ci'tlix niga-ixala'k^udix *sitkum sun*² itcxa'n
 itcixi'ma. Ancgiu'tg' a'lema k'a'dux. Itcgwó'meniñ
 5 Lla'g iki'ax; inxlu'xwan na'ikaba q'a'daga p' inxu'wôq.
 Na'qxi nxe'leqfat qe'neg' anxu'xwa; sā'q^u itcxa'n iu'meqt.
 Yakā'xtau wi'lx ninilxigamam; nā'qxi nxe'leqfat pu wi't!
 anu'ya yaxda'ubô wi'lx. Amxtkligemtcxu'gwaya cma'nix
 p' anigelga'ya wi'lx bam' itxga'genkc; cmanix klā'ya,
 10 klā'ya pu wi't!ax gwió'qt anxu'xwa. Hā'ai nki'ax; klā'ya
 yak!a'mela-ix inxlu'xwan aga saq^u e'neg' inxk!wó'ket.
 Klā'ya t!a'y' iqi'ux. Ninigi'tg' iba'cten idiaxi'lalit kwó'dau
 wi't! a!u'nikc Nadida'nuit tgaxi'lalit. Nā'qxi nxe'leqfat
 qe'neg' anxu'xwa. Klā'ya dan nigemlu'xwan itcgwó'me-
 15 niñ. Da'uda sa'q^u.

¹ Inasmuch as very little western Sahaptin material has ever been published, the above short text may not be entirely unwelcome. Doubtless the phonetics of the Sahaptin have suffered somewhat through the fact that the letter was transla-

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4.

Ninigi'tg' imitc!a'xwi a'ngadix; k!wałē' ninxitq!a'xit
 maika'yamt wi't!a. Idia'giutgwa'xix· ninxitlu'xwa-it nin-
 xi'tcmôq *S. k!ma Mrs. M. icdatcge'mem*; nagwa'tx aga
 p!ā'la da'ya da'pt. Ka'nauwē p!ā'la di'ka ya'-ima cpa'g
 5 ixf'ldix· da'ya da'pt. Nintgu'watca'mit qa'uatk' iguna'd
 idiaga'qctagôkc nintxatk!wa'-itambet. *James F. Grand*
R'onde-iamt nigidi'mam; aga kxwô'pt nitctu'k! q'a'uat.
 Aga kxwô'pt *Mrs. A. di'ka nigaxtki'ax*; niktuk! q'a'uat.
 Wi't!' agewu'lx· *Da'lles-iamt di'ka nigaxtki'ax*; niktuk!
 10 q'a'uat. Aga kxwô'pt k!ā'ya la'blat duk!wa'-itix·.

Nintx^umatga'b' itca'nneryba sqi'lak k!ma *A. nigi-*
 gi'tga wi'mqt agakce'nb' ix'q!ē'walal iēlē'xlex. Aga kxwô'pt
 p!ā'la ni'ntxatx k!ā'ya lga'blad uxwôq!ē'walal. Itca'nnery
 aga q!oa'b aluxwatbu'xwida qxē'waba k!ā'ya lga'blad u-
 15 xwôq!ē'walal wi'mafba. K!āy' itlu'kti-ix inxgigela'gwax nin-
 dimambā't *Ya'kima-yamt*; aga kxwô'pt k!ā'ya lga'blad
 inuxwaca'mit uxwôq!ē'walal. Da'uya sā'q^u da'uyaba da'pt;
 qxē'dau ag' anixbua'ya. Andu'y' iduna'yaxiamt qxa'uat-
 b' ifgwô'max nxlu'xwan. Nki'ax

ami'utxiḡ —.

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4.

I received your letter some time ago and was glad to hear from you again. I was sorry to hear that S. and Mrs. M. were sick. I hope they are well by now. We are all well down here but the weather is very warm at present. We dried only a few salmon-heads. After we came home and James F. of Grand Ronde took some and Mrs. A. was here and took some and my niece from the Dalles was here and took some and we haven't very many left.

We worked in the cannery awhile but A. got salmon poison in her thumb and we quit as there is not many fish anyway. The cannery will soon close as there's not many fish in the river. I haven't felt very well since I came home from Yakima and I didn't dry much fish. This is all I can think of for this time. So I must close. We are going to start for the huckleberry patch in a few days, I think. I remain

Your cousin —.

IV. NON-MYTHICAL NARRATIVES.

I. A QUARREL OF THE WISHRAM.¹

Łuxwa'la-itix' iŋa'xluit Wa'q!Emaba;² İqa'uadikc İxē'la-itix' Wa'q!Emaba tqa'uadikc İxē'la-itix' wı'lxamba Nix-lu'idix'ba. Aga kxw'pt galu'kw' agwi'xqwx ca'xalix'. Aga kxw'pt galga'xtcmôq; gaqa'ltemôq cu'lulululu.³ Aga
 5 kxw'pt i'x'ad ika'la gali'kim: "İqa'ltemôq itcô'k'cxatpa." İ'xat gali'kim: "İcga'gitcpa iqa'ltemôq." İ'xat gali'kim: "İtga'piqba iqa'ltemôq." Aga kxw'pt ts!um galxu'x. Aga kxw'pt galgu'gwig' iŋaga'matcx. Kxw'pt a'ga galx-di'na, galxw'q ka'namôkct. Galxdinā'4; p!a'la galxu'x.

- 10 Aga kxw'pt alaŋi'luxuŋa da'ukwa itetagi'tcxutkc ictaxa'la cti'gemuxt, *watch* cxigemuxt; yaxa' yax ayaxi'lxuŋx itguna't ctuxu'lal, iciaxa'la cti'gemuxt. Łu'n iŋe'lx ga'lxux kw'ba galxē'la-it; kw'ba galxdina; p!a'l' aga ga'lxux. Aga kxw'pt gal'kim iŋa'xluit: "Lluyā' qatgi ag' alxu'ya
 15 qxa'damt; Lluyā' nilxa'tx iŋelxaxa'lukc; ag' algiu'naxŋa wı'lx." Aga kxw'pt galgu'gwiga icge'nemax. Aga kxw'pt galu'ya. Yaxtabā'2 galu'ya Walawalabā'2; Ac-nembā'2 galu'ya; Nuŋla-ikbā'2 galu'ya; nā'wit Nuŋla-nuŋlabā'2 galu'ya; nā'4wit Sts!emtsibā'2 galu'ya; nā'wit
 20 Wisu'mba galu'ya; nā'wit Ta'malanba galu'ya; nā'wit Txa'iaunaba galu'ya; nā'wit wiqxaŋbā'2⁴ galıglu'ya-ix'; nā'wit Pô'uwankiutbā'2 gala'gluya; nā'wit Xit!a'iba galu'ya; nā'wit

¹ See Mooney, op. cit., pp. 740, 741, according to whose version the emigrant Wishram travelled up the Spokane, not the Yakima. Of course the tale is purely mythical, but is separated from the myths because of its pseudo-historical character.

² A Wishram village which was a short distance up the river from the main village Niŋlu'idix' or Wu'cxam.

³ Very high pitch.

IV. NON-MYTHICAL NARRATIVES.

I. A QUARREL OF THE WISHRAM.¹

The Wishram were dwelling at Wa'q!Emap;² some of them were dwelling at Wa'q!Emap, some of them were dwelling at the village Niḵlu'idiḵ. Now then a duck flew over their heads. And then they heard it, it made a noise: shu'lulululu.³ Now then one man said: "It made the noise with its beak." One said: "It made the noise with its nostrils." One said: "It made the noise with its wings." So then they got to arguing. And then they seized their arrows. Then indeed they fought, both parties killed each other. They fought and fought (until) they ceased.

And then, (whenever) any one fished with dip-net, thus two men provided with quivers remained near their friend, kept watch over him; while he, the dip-net fisherman, caught salmon, his two friends staid near him. Three years passed by and there they dwelt; there they fought (until) at last they ceased. And then (one party of) the Wishram said: "Being in some way disgraced, let us now go off somewheres; we have become disgraced before our friends. Now let us go to look for (another) country." So then they took cedar planks and then went off. Way yonder they went, among the Wallawalla. They went on past Acne'm. They went on past Nu!a'ik. They went straight on past Nu!a'nu!a. They went straight on past Sts!E'mtsi. They went straight on past Wisu'm. They went straight on past Ta'malan. They went straight on past Txa'iauna. Straight on they went to a small river.⁴ They went straight on to Pó'uwankiut.

⁴ Without doubt the Yakima is meant.

ixcô'q^utba wí'qxał gału'ya; gału'ya Sata'sba; nā'wit ga-
lu'ya ILLU'mENiba; nā'wit Pařā'xiba¹ gału'ya.

Aga kwô'ba gałxí'la-it. Aga kxwô'pt itguna't itsu'iha
aga'kwal ickla'daqxi gałktu'x, gałxe'lemux. Aga kxwô'pt
5 gałki'm: "Qxwôtxalā' yak!a'its wí'lx. Ag' alxu'ya í'wat
iklu'n' algi'unaxłama wí'lx." Gału'ya nā'zwit Patixkwi'utba,
aga da'uya wí'gwa iřba'cten ałgiu'přena iGa'p.² Kwôbā'
gałxí'la-it. Ya'-ima řa'bix'ix' ałkdu'xwa itgu'nat alaří-
luřuřa; yakā'xdau ya'xliu wí'lx IřELEXTgi'dix'.³ Aga wí'tla
10 gałki'm: "Qxwôtxa'la yak!a'its wí'lx." Aga wí'tla gału'ya
gałgiu'naxłam wí'lx. Da'uya wí'gwa nió'qxumit qa'xba
gałxidla'-itix' iřa'řluit ga'ngadix'. Itk!a'lamatpa ickē'nmax
ixí'naxat; qxē'wa nxe'lqłat gałgi'ukł icge'nemax qxa'dagatci
nřlu'řwan řa'-itcka iřacę'nemax iřa'řluit; dala'ř pu gał-
15 de'mqt.

Aga wí'tla gału'ya gałgiu'naxłam wí'lx, gałkła'yu. Ga-
łřlu'řwa-it: "Algu'gwiga itguna't řga'blat qa'matg' itlu'kti
wí'lx aga kwô'ba alxí'la-ida." Gału'ya nā'zwit Wí'natc-
caba;⁴ gału'yam iřa'řluit. Aga kwô'ba gałxí'la-it gałxi-
20 lā'zit. Aga wí'tla gałki'm: "Ag' alklā'yuwa." Aga
kxwô'pt wí'tla gałkła'yu. řgā'p gałgige'řga wí'lx itgu'nat

¹ It was not found possible to definitely locate all of these Sahaptin place-names. NuLa'-ik was somewhat east of Wasco; NuLa'nul'a was about 2½ miles east of Niřlu'idix; Txa'iauna was at Summit, within the limits of Yakima Reservation and some distance south of Fort Simcoe; Pó'uwankiut was at Canyon, near Summit; Sa'tas is represented by Satus Creek of to-day; ILLU'mENi was at the head of Canyon Creek; Pařā'xi was said by Pete to be near Wenatchee, north of North Yakima (if this is correct, the name is evidently misplaced in the narrative, as it should come after "The Gap"). The course of the supposed migration was thus east for a short distance along the Columbia, then north across the divide between the Columbia and the Yakima, and then along the Yakima to the Wenatchee.

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They went straight on past Ẁit!a'í. They went straight on past a dried-up small river. They went straight on past Sa'tas. They went straight on past Ilu'meni. They went straight on to Paľá'xi.¹

Now there they remained. And then they caught Chinook salmon, blueback salmon, eels, and suckers; they ate them. And then they said: "Behold! the country is small. Now let us go off yonder, let us look for another country." They went straight on to Patixkwí'ut; now to-day white people call it "The Gap."² There they remained. Only at night do people catch salmon (there), they fish with dip-nets. The name of that same country is Ix̄el̄extgí'dix̄.³ And again they said: "Behold! the country is small." And again they went on, went to seek (another) country. To this day I see where (those) Wishram used to live long ago. Among the rocks cedar boards are standing. That is how I know that they took cedar boards with them, so that I think they are the cedar boards of them, the Wishram; perhaps some may have died (there).

And again they went on, went to look for (another) country. They moved. They thought to themselves: "We will get lots of salmon; far away somewheres there is a good country, and there we will dwell." They went straight on to Wenatchee;⁴ (there) the Wishram arrived. And there they dwelt, dwelt long. And then they said: "Now let us all move." And then again they moved. They took a country for themselves (where there were)

² "The Gap" is the narrow pass through which the Yakima flows in breaking through the low range south of the town of North Yakima.

³ This is its Wishram name, and may be approximately translated as "the place where two mountains nearly touch." Patixkwí'ut is the Klickitat or Yakima term.

⁴ In the country of the Salish Piskwaus or Winätshi, who dwelt along the Wenatchee R., a western tributary of the Columbia. See Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 736.

łga'blat kwô'dau itq^uctxi'Lawa łga'blat. Da'uya wi'gwa kwô'ba łxē'la-itix· ag' a'ic iła'xluit. Cma'nix p' anu'ya na'ika nā'wit p' anuya'ma iłaxlu'itpa, ałgnu'gulałxa; nā'wit p' ałginuwô'gwa. Da'uya wi'gwa ła'-itecka iła'xluit
 5 gałgige'łga wi'łx palala'i 'tgu'nat palala'i 'tq^uctxi'Lawa k!ma nā'qxi inck!u'qxumit nca'ika. Qē'dau łxlu'xwan iła'xluit.

2. A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE PAIUTE WAR.¹

Na'ika *Louis Simpson soldier* ganixtki'xax mô'ket iłe'łx galuxwadi'naxba ide'łxam aq!uwa'gwa pu ł!uwa'nxayukc.²
 10 Gaqxi'ntcit iqa'kemit; icta'mx isoldiers gatci'ntcit: "Amc-k!u'wagwa ił!ua'nxayukc; a-ilā'x iła'wan, a-ilq!oā'b amc-k!u'xwa łaqxa'qetaq, amcgage'lg' ała'nałxat. Aga kxwô'pt lq!u'b amck!u'xwa iłatu'k; ctā'łilxam ick!i'tcax amcgixi'ma iłaqxa'qetaq ił!u'anxayukc." Ia'xliu ý'xat *ichief* Pala'i-ini³
 15 ý'xat ia'xliu Ya'wiwa;³ tedałxē'wulx icdak!a'mela icka'la icta'mx.

Itcā'łilxam aga'łax gantcu'ya. Nā'qxi ganck!gi'tkel wi'xatba; gu'lqb' aga'łax gantcu'guix. Gantcu'ya ý'xt intcāk!a'munak k!un sí'nemôket!gał, da'pt gantcu'ya ide'ł-
 20 xam ł!u'anxayukciamt. Aga kxwô'pt gantck!ge'lgax wi'xatba luwa'n gwe'nemike ił!ua'nxayukc. Nā'wit k!a'u-k!au gantek!u'xax; k!ā'ya iłka'lukc ła'-ima iłqa'dotin k!ma iłne'mekc. Gantcô'guix. Aga kxwô'pt gantcgiguó'qôx sā'q^u iłga'wulqt gantcxu'xwôx kā'nauwē. Aga kxwô'pt
 25 ka'dux gali'kim intca'ctamx: "Aga mcxe'łkiłx ag' amce-

¹ The Paiute or Snake Indian War spoken of in this personal narrative of Louis Simpson has been described in detail under the title of "The Shoshone War" (1866-1868) in H. H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II., Chap. XXI. (pp. 512-554). The war was conducted against the Oregon Shoshones of Malheur River and Camp Warner, the whites being assisted by a considerable body of Indians from Warm Spring Reservation.

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lots of salmon and lots of deer. To this day they dwell there and they are just nothing but Wishram. If I should go off, should go off until I came to (those) Wishram, they would recognize me; straightway they would kill me. To this day they, the Wishram, hold the land (where are) many salmon and many deer, but we people have not seen them. Thus believe the Wishram.

2. A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE PAIUTE WAR.¹

I, Louis Simpson, was soldier for two years when the people fought, (when) the Paiutes² were to be killed. The order was given to us, the chief gave it to us soldiers: "You shall slay the Paiutes. You shall rip open their bellies and cut their heads; you shall take hold of their scalps. And then you shall cut through their necks; you shall put the heads of the Paiutes ten paces off." The name of one (Paiute) chief was Pala'i-ini,³ the name of another was Yawi'wa;³ they were both of them strong and wicked men, chiefs.

At 10 o'clock we started off. We did not see any (Paiutes) on the way. At 8 o'clock we camped. We started off one hundred and seventy of us, this many did we people start off towards the Paiutes. And then we caught about five Paiutes on the trail. Immediately we bound them; they were not men, only children and women. We camped. And then we dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: "Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something." So then we got up from bed, and


² Itt!ua'nxayukc, used to refer to the Paiutes, really means "enemies."

³ These names are probably Bancroft's Panina, the leader of the Paiutes, and Wewawewa (op. cit., p. 550).

- lukli'tegwa." Aga kxwô'pt gantcxlá'i-itckôx. Aga kxwô'pt gantcklġE'lgax iŋqta't.¹ Aga kxwô'pt gantcglá'lamx; aga tca'q gantcglá'lamx. Aga kxwô'pt galí'kim itló'xyal: "Ag' amcġlukli'tegwa mca'ika qE'NEG' inixgigwá'gwá.
- 5 Dau' aga'fax ag' alxla'id' ag' inġE'lkġl itlu'anxayuke. Cma'nix a'LEM' alxklġE'lgġla acxu'xwa icġi'ŋti." Qí'dau galí'gimx itlu'xyal. Aga wí'tla gantcglá'lamx iŋqta't gantcġi'guqġix. Aga wí'tla í'xad ika'la galí'gimx: "Ag' amcġlukli'tegwa qE'NEG' inikigwá'gwá na'it!ax. Nigi'lgġl-taŋt iŋwô'qwô 'g' ulpġdi'ġmd aga'fax. Aga kxwô'pt ilġi'gġlga iŋwô'qwa ia'xan² ia'ima. Qí'dau inixkigwô'gwô."
- 10 Aga kxwô'pt wá'8³ alġi mā'8⁴ galuxwa'xax idġ'lġam. Itlu'anxayuke k!wa'c gaŋxu'xwax; gaŋtca'xumx. Aga kxwô'pt gayutcu'ktixix. Aga kxwô'pt gantcġu'gigax idki'udanic; gantckda'wixax itkaŋa'lidmat tkiuda'nikcba. Aga kxwô'pt gatcintcu'lġamx icta'mx^u: "Má'ket mōket amcu'ya; na'cġxi amcġġlpla'lawulalama da'uya wí'gwa." Aga kxwô'pt galí'gimx icta'mx^u: "Da'uŋax iŋtSE'ndi itlu'ktix amtsklk!í'tka. Cma'nix a'LEma amtcklġE'lgġla da'uŋax iŋtSE'ndi a'LEma
- 20 í'w' aŋxu'xwa wí'lġba ŋu'nix ag' a'LEma kxwô'pt í'w' amcxa'txa ka'nauwġ; a'LEma da'ukw' amcxu'xwa." Aga kxwô'pt gantcu'ix; qucti'axa iŋtlu'anxayuke k!wô'bixix; agaŋu'ya iŋtSE'ndi gaŋusKE'NEMUX. Aga kxwô'pt í'wi gaŋxu'xwax; ŋu'nix í'wi gaŋxu'xwax wí'lġba. Aga kxwô'pt
- 25 í'wi gantcu'ix nca'ikaba. GantcklġE'lgġlġ itlu'anxayuke iŋa'qġimax sí'NEMōket aŋa'tuŋ.

Kxwô'pt a'ga icġi'ŋti gaġxu'xwax. Aga kxwô'pt l!a'k^u gatci'uxwax icta'mx^u qxġ'ligiktim. Aga kxwô'pt ġali'gimx icta'mx^u: "Nā'cġxi *Paiute soldiers* ŋa'-itcka." Kxwô'pt

30 gaqxa'gġlġax *abox*; capca'p gaqu'xwax; pā'ŋ itġa'matcx.⁵

¹ The iŋqta't is a piece of hard wood that has a series of semicircular notches cut into it: . Another piece of wood was rubbed up and down over it, a "thrilling" sound resulting. In the war dance, as practised by the Wascos, singing and the simultaneous rubbing of the iŋqta't accompanied the dancing.

then we took hold of iqta't-sticks.¹ And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: "Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die, I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain." Thus said the hero. And again we sang, rubbed the iqta't-sticks together. And again one man said: "Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us towards the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son."² Thus did I dream."

And then the people yelled their war-whoop: wā+³ and mā+.⁴ The Paiutes became afraid, they cried. And then daylight came. And then we got the horses and put the saddles on the horses. Now then the chief said to us: "You shall go two by two; you shall not talk to one another to-day." And then the chief said: "This flag you shall well keep. Whenever you see this flag move three times from the ground, then you shall all look about. Thus you shall do." And then we started off. Truly there were Paiutes not very far away; now the flag went on, went ahead. And then it moved, three times it moved from the ground. So then we went and looked about among ourselves. We saw houses of the Paiutes; they had seven fires.

Then indeed it started in to rain. And then the chief took out a spy-glass. And then the chief said: "They are not Paiute soldiers." Then a box was taken and chopped open; it was full of bullets.⁵ And then they

² That is, "male cub."

³ This sound is broken up into short periods by quickly beating the palm against the open mouth. The pitch of the vowel is very high, a shrill effect resulting.

⁴ As before, but whispered.

⁵ Literally, "arrows."

Aga k̄xwô'pt gaqlu'tx ð'xat iŋka'la gwe'nemaŋgaŋ. Aga k̄xwô'pt tla'tla gaqtu'xwax itgoa'lala kã'nauwēdan iŋpistol; gaqa'wigitkax itgoa'lala kwô'dau itk!E'net. Aga k̄xwô'pt tla'ya tla'ya galuxwa'xax ide'l̄xam. I'xt ikiu'tan tla'tla
 5 gaqí'uxax; da'b'¹ itpí'q gaya'-its ikiu'tan kla'u gaqdi'luxax itpí'q. Aga k̄xwô'pt "Ag' alxu'ya sa'q² alxklu'xwa" gaŋ-gí'mx. Aga k̄xwô'pt itki'udaniuke gantcugwa'la-itx.

Aga k̄xwô'pt gantcu'ix sa'q² gantcklu'xwax itlua'n-xayuke, sí'nemôkct aŋa'tuŋ sí'nemôkct łó'qlimax. Aga
 10 k̄xwô'pt tclpa'k gatgí'x itkiu'daniuke; q!wô'p gantcklu'xwamx. Aga k̄xwô'pt qē'dau gantcklu'wax inxi'amxulumax wā'8;³ ŋk!u'p ŋk!u'p galuxwa'xax itgwa'lala. Aga k̄xwô'pt gatkt̄xwi'tx it*Paiutes* aga gaŋgu'gwigax itaga-matex. Aga k̄xwô'pt ŋk!u'p ŋk!up galuxwa'xax qa'daga
 15 dagapga'p itx^udli't iŋó'qŋba. I'wi gantcxu'xwax; wi'gwa gantexdi'nax. Yaxta'b' aga'ŋax³ p!a'la gantcxu'xwax. A-i-l!a'x iŋa'wan, a-iŋq!oa'b iŋa'tuk, a-iŋq!oa'b ana'ŋxat, ctã'ŋilxam icki'tcax iŋaqxa'qetaq. Gantckge'lgax etmô'ket ickla'ckac — a'-iŋxad agagi'lak i'ŋxad ika'la ik!a'ckac.
 20 Gantcklu'dinax aŋati'ŋx ŋabla'd.

Kwô'pt xa'bixix galixu'xwax. K̄xwôpt *watch* gantcxu'xwax; wa'pul ganckca'wiglagwatekôx itkiu'daniuke. Aga k̄xwô'pt ittš!í'nônks⁴ gaqxa'witcmôqax; qucti'axa a'-iŋxad ak!a'ckac gaŋga'geŋga xa'bixix gaŋgantexta'mitx. Ganxē'l-
 25 tcmôq na'ika (*whistling*). Aga k̄xwô'pt gatcnu'l̄xamx ika'la: "Mí'a ŋel̄xa'mam. Wi'tla ŋk!u'na-itc *watch* alxu'xwa." Aga k̄xwô'pt ganlu'l̄xam: "Mcgu'yutk; ŋk!u'na wi'tlax iŋdi'mam itlua'nxayuke." Aga k̄xwô'pt *watch* gantcxu'xwax antca'tiŋx tkiuda'niukeba. Gayutcu'ktiŋix. Aga wi'tla gantcu'ix.
 30 Aga wi'tla gantckŋge'lgax itlua'nxayuke. Aga wi'tla kwô'ba galuxwadi'nax; a'-iŋxad agagi'lak a'niwad gaqxwô'qôx. Aga k̄xwô'pt galuxwadi'nax; ŋk!u'p ŋk!up

¹ Indicated by gesture.² As above.³ With gesture towards the western horizon.

were given out, fifty to each man. And then the guns and all the pistols were carefully cleaned, the guns and revolvers were loaded. Now then the people were all prepared. One horse was carefully fixed up; here¹ feathers were tied on to a bob-tailed horse, feathers. And then they said: "Now let us all charge on them." And then we rode the horses.

Now then we started out and all charged on the Paiutes; they had seven fires, seven houses. And then swiftly the horses went, we came up close to them. Now then thus we followed them — with war-whoops: wā+;² the guns were shot off. And then the Paiutes came to a stand and seized their bullets. Now then they shot; the smoke just darkened everything up about their houses. We looked about and fought all day. (When) the sun (was) over there,³ we stopped. (We) ripped open their bellies, cut through their necks, cut off the scalps, (put down) their heads ten paces off. We caught two children, one girl and one boy. We killed many of them, a great number.

Then it became night. Then we kept watch, looked after the horses all night. Now then the horses⁴ were heard to neigh; in truth the (Paiutes) had under cover of darkness seized one girl and run off with her from us. I whistled, and then a man said to me: "Go tell them! Let some more of us keep watch." So then I went and then I told them: "You fellows wake up! Some Paiutes have come again." And then many of us kept watch over the horses. Daylight appeared. Now again we started off, and again we caught some Paiutes. And again they fought there; one of the women was killed first. And then they fought; bang, bang! went the guns. We caught some women. I killed a Paiute, we shot at

⁴ Literally, "birds", (= "animals"), somewhat slangy for "horses."

galu'xwax itgwô'lala. Gantcgu'gwigax idne'mckc. Na'ika ganidwô'q itlu'anxa; ðku'p gantci'katx; ya'xka ika'la itlu'anxa da'n iatca't iga'q^utetx. A-il.lā'x ia'wan gani'uxwax, a-ilq!wā'b ia'tuk, a-ilq!wā'b ayana'ixat. Kwô'ba gali-
5 xi'maxity itlu'anxa da'n iaqla'qcta.

Ganu'yamx qa'xba gantcxdinaxba, palala'i idne'mckc ðkabl'a't. Palala'i agati'ix ana'iyat luxwa'n laktiga'f. Gaqtudi'nax ada'naixat. Qē'dau galuxwadi'na *Paiutebô* wí'lx ia'xleu Gwôphā'ni¹ kwô'dau wí'lx ia'xleu Malhē'wa.¹ Aga
10 kxwô'pt gantckludinax sã'q^u adati'ix gantcgu'gwigax *Paiute* idne'mckc. Xa'bixix kla'uk!au gantcktu'xwax.

Aga kxwô'pt gaqxē'ntcu'lx gantcu'ix iaga'if wi'la'la adati'ix itlu'anxayukc; nã'z wit itk!ala'imatpa gaqxē'ntcuklamax. Aga kxwô'pt ðku'p gaqcentclu'xax. Aga kxwô'pt
15 gaqentcupgna'iwanananumx môkctiga'f itka'lukc ðã'filxam itka'lukc it!ôxiã'luwimax itaxē'wulxumax wí't!ax. Kxwô'pt ðã'filxam qxē'gēmtkiy galxu'xwax; galuxwa'xax qxiq!ã'q-ba gactxwô'môx itkiu'danike. Aga kxwô'pt gafuske'nemx itka'lukc mô'ket môkct, gantsu'sgenem intca'niwadikc.
20 Aga kxwô'pt nã'wid ide'lxam intca'gikôuba gatgē'ntcuwax kwô'dau intca'xiu'daniukc itga'matcax gactxô'môx qxiq!ã'qba ide'lxam. Aga kxwô'pt gantcu'ix itk!ala'imatba.

Gatcentcu'l Yamx *icaptain*: "Nã'qxi a'lema lu'k amexa'txa; amcu'ya ã'natkadiy. Cma'nix a'lema ðklu'b aluxwa'txa itgwô'lala ag' a'lema mcô'it; nã'qxi k!wa'c amexu'xwa. Aga da'ukwa lguegi'wal, iqxa'kemit niqē'lxelut. Aga ia'ima alxla'ida," gatcentcu'l Yamx; "qe'negi mcxlu'xwan? a'ga tci da'ukw' amexu'xwa? atc' amcxla'ida, ca'xel
30 imcktxa' idemca'kcen." Aga kxwô'pt ē'wi gantcktu'xwax intca'kcen. Wí't!a nixē'lgakwax gatclu'l Yamx: "Dau'

¹ It is practically certain that these names are nothing but disguised forms of the English Camp Harney and Malheur River.

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him; he, the Paiute man, had no shirt on, he was naked. I ripped open his belly, cut through his neck, cut off his scalp. There lay the Paiute without his head.

I arrived where we had been fighting; there were very many women. There were very many scalps, perhaps forty. Those to whom the scalps belonged had been killed. Thus they fought in the Paiute country named Gwôphā'ni¹ and the Paiute country named Malhē'wa.¹ So then we killed them all and caught many Paiute women. At night we bound them.

Now then we were taken, we went to a large lake (where) there were many Paiutes. Straightway we were brought to the bridge, and then we were shot at. And then we were called out by name, twenty men; ten men were brave warriors, also strong. Now ten were put in the rear; the pack-horses were put in the middle. And then the men went on in front two by two, we first went on in front. And then straightway the people followed us in back of us, and our pack-horses for the bullets in the middle of the people. Now then we went up to the bridge.

The captain said to us: "You shall not go back, you shall go ahead to the other side. If the guns will be shot at us, just go ahead. You shall not be afraid. Now that is how we are travelling; the command has been given to us. Now we can only die," he said to us. "What do you think? Now will you do thus? Are you willing to die? (If so), lift up your hands!" And then we showed our hands. Again he turned round and said to the (others): "Now this day we shall die. What do you think? Now will you do thus? Are you willing to die?"

aga'fax ag' alxla'-ida. Qe'negi mexlu'xwan? a'ga tci da'ukw' amcxu'xwa? atc' amcxla'-ida?" Galu'gwakim: "A'-a! itlu'ktiḡ intexlu'xwan sā'q" nca'ika dau' aga'fax ag' antexla'-ida." Aga da'ukwa ā' ni'ntexux: "Aga da'uya
 5 wi'gwa antexla'-ida." Cma'ni la'xya-ite aflu'ya aḡasge'nemnan dateḡa'-i da'uda-ite qxiq!ā'qba dateḡa'-i atgi'a. Aga kḡwōpt gantcu'ix. Aga kḡwōpt gatgi'x ide'lḡam; gwā'p gantcu'ix. Klā'y' itlu'anxayuke gwā'p gatgi'x, intca'niwadike. Aga kḡwōpt ide'lḡam gatgi'x gwō'p. Da'im' it-
 10 ga'qxat kwō'dau itgaq^ufi'max da'im' itk!a'munak.

Aga kḡwōpt kwō'ba gantcu'guiḡ. Aga kḡwōpt xa'bi-xiḡ *watch* gantexu'xwamḡ itpoqō'xba. Iwa'd ndmō'ket gandū'ix; iwa'd ctmō'ket gactu'ix; wī'tla ctmō'ket iwa'd gactu'ix ya'xtau. Ag' aḡatu'ḡpa *watch* antexu'xwa wa'pul;
 15 aḡantga'ḡelḡelx watu'ḡ. Aga kḡwōpt gatenu'lḡamḡ na'ik' anu'ya anlulḡa'mama itḡu'yemḡatpa: "Qe'negi tci!a'l amu'y' a'watci na'ika?" Kwōpt gangi'mḡ: "Naik' anu'ya." Yā'xi ia'ḡqdiḡ ganlu'lḡamam; aga ga'nuiḡ. Aga kḡwōpt ganu'yamḡ; ganlu'lḡamamḡ: "Wa'tuḡ ia'xiḡba intgaḡe'l-
 20 kel." Galigi'mḡ *icaptain*: "A'-u alxu'ya."

Aga gantcu'ix; nā'z wit gantcu'yamḡ ika'laba. Kḡwōpt gantcu'ix watu'ḡpa. Kḡwōpt kā'nauwē gantega'ḡelḡax watu'ḡ daq!ā'z p ide'lḡam. Dawā'x galixuxwa'xiḡ. Aga kḡwōpt ḡk!u'p ḡk!up galō'xwaxḡ. Ganteklu'dinax iḡt!ua'n-
 25 xayuke sā'q" ḡuwa'n ḡā'ḡilḡam ḡklun ḡwe'nema. Aga kḡwōpt gantḡu'ḡwigax iḡaxiuda'niuke mōket; i'xt iatcḡe'mem ia'qxuit ikiu'tan kwō'dau i'xt dadakdā'g ia'ḡul. Plā'la ḡa'-itecka ḡali'kla-itḡ iḡt!ua'nxayuke dadakdā'g ia'ḡul iḡt!ua'nxayuke iḡa'xiutan. Wī'tlax ka'duḡ aḡqidi'wi da'ukwa
 30 wī'tlax *watch* gantexu'xwax watu'ḡpa. Wā'pul ganckla'yux gantega'ḡelḡelx wa'tuḡ ka'nauwā; wī'tla ka'duḡ ganckḡelḡa aḡati'ḡ. Wī'tla ganexdi'nax; gancklu'dina sā'q". Wī'tlax ita'qxat ganḡu'ḡuiḡelx iḡtka'ba. Aga kḡwōpt

¹ That is. my companion.

They said: "Yes! We all think it well that we should die this day." Now thus we agreed: "Now this day we shall die." Whenever those who were in front advanced fast, these in the middle would advance fast. So then we went on. So then the people went on; we went across. The Paiutes did not go across; we were first. Now then the people had gone across. There were only their tracks and their houses, nothing but logs.

And then we encamped there. Now then we kept watch at night in the mountains. Two of us went off that way; two went off that way; two again went off that way. Now we were to keep watch all night for their fire. Now we two caught sight of the fire. And then he¹ said to me: "How about it, will you go or shall I?" Then I said: "I shall go." Way off yonder I went to tell them; now I went. And then I arrived and told them: "We two have seen a fire over yonder." The captain said: "Yes, let us go."

So on we went; straightway we came up to the man. Then we proceeded towards the fire. Then we all got at the fire, the (Paiute) people all standing around. It became light. And then they shot. We killed all the Paiutes, about fifteen. And then we caught two of their horses; one horse had a sick leg and one was sore-backed, his skin all coming off. The Paiutes quietly sat on their sore-backed horse with his skin coming off. Again next day, just as before, again we kept watch for a fire. All night long we moved and saw all the fires; in the morning we again caught many of them. Again we fought; we killed them all. Again we saw their tracks in the snow. And then we followed them (until) it became quite dark. And then one man said: "I shall go

gancklú'wax daxapxa'p nixu'xwaxix. Aga kxwó'pt gali-
 gí'mx í'xat ika'la: "Naik' anu'ya ya'xtaub' ika'la idia-
 qxatba." Aga kxwó'pt gayu'yix; gantcu'ix. Galí'gimx:
 "Qatgí'ng' inxux ca'niamt." — "Anu'ya na'ika idiaqxa'tba
 5 itlu'anxa na'ik' aniwad," gali'kim í'xad ika'la. Gatci'wax
 idia'qxatba. Aga kxwó'pt dagapga'b galixuxwa'xix.

Aga kxwó'pt gali'kim ika'la: "Dik' a'g' alxugu'ya."
 Aga kxwó'pt gantcu'guix kwó'ba itka'ba. Ka'dux gante-
 gu'itgemux. Aga wí'tla gantcigí'wax itlu'anxa idia'qxatba.
 10 la'x gantcux'wax aga tca-itga'luqt watu'l. Aga gante-
 ga'gelgelx ka'dux. Aga kxwó'pt í'wi gantcux'wax; a-i-
 klā'u gantcux'wax lu'lu ga'n. Aga kxwó'pt dakda'k
 gantcux'wax identcagwólala; gantcktu'xax tla'ya tla'ya;
 gantcga'wigitkax; itga'matcx qu'lqul gantcktó'wixax.
 15 Aga kxwó'pt gantcu'ix; gantcigilgeluxta'max sô'q^u gante-
 klu'xax wā'8.¹ Ga'ksubena'iuix nā'wit itcqó'yamt itlu'an-
 xayukc; itqa'udike gantcklge'lga gantcklú'dinax. Í'xad
 dabā' ikla'skas gantcigilgelgax; í'xad nikta'x ika'la itlu'anxa
 ni'xwó'xitx. Aga kxwó'pt galgixwó'xix. Aga kxwó'pt
 20 ika'la iklu'p gatcci'guxax; ia'maq gatci'luxax hi'kcenba
 itlu'anxa nā'wid da'xoap. Aga kxwó'pt nixelga'kwax
 itlu'anxa ia'xt'ax ciagwólala. Aga kxwó'pt ia'xt' itlu'anxa
 iklu'p gatecu'xwax. Aga kxwó'pt wí'tla iklu'p gaqdi'gu-
 xax. Aga kxwó'pt nixi'maxidemx. Aga kxwó'pt iatu'kba
 25 lq'ó'b gaqí'uxax kwó'dau iaq!a'qctaqba lq'ó'p gaqí'uxax
 kwó'dau l'e'x ia'wan. Qucti'axa ia'xtau itlu'anxa ia'maq
 iaxu'ba.

Aga kwó'ba galgi'waqxôx; iciagwa'lala gantckcge'lga
 itlu'anxa; iaq!a'qctaq iā'xi galgiu'ladax. Dawā'x aq!e'yôqt
 30 atlu'anxa dan isga'xus agap!u'nenkau kwó'ba gaqugwí'lxe-
 mux ing' icgwólala itcaq!a'qctaq. Aga kxwó'pt pla'la
 gantcux'wax. Klā'ya iltlu'anxayukc. Aga kxwó'pt gante-
 klgelgelx iā'4xi ca'xelix itk!a'lamatba ala'tix. Aga

¹ As above.

in the man's footprints." So then he went on, we went (after him). He said: "I give up; let somebody else try." — "I shall go in the Paiute's footprints, I first," said one man. He followed him in his footprints. Now then it had become very dark.

And then the man said: "Now let us camp here over night." So then we camped there in the snow. In the morning we awoke and again followed the Paiute in his footprints. We came in view, now (we saw) the fire burning. Now in the morning we saw it. And then we looked about and got together in a bunch without saying anything. And then we loosened our guns, carefully cleaned them, and loaded them; we put bullets into them. And then we went on. We made a charge, we all yelled wā+¹ at them. The Paiutes all jumped straight into the water; some of them we caught and killed. We caught one little boy here. One Paiute man ran away, he dashed off. And then they headed him off. And then a man fired at him and wounded the Paiute in his hand, pierced it right through. And then the Paiute was surrounded; he also had a gun. Now then that Paiute shot it off. And then he was again shot at, and then he fell down dead. And then his neck was cut through, and he was cut in his head, and his belly was ripped open. In truth, that Paiute had been wounded in his arm.

So there they killed him; the Paiute's gun we took, his head they threw way off. At daybreak there was an old Paiute woman there, without eyes, blind; her head they mauled with a gun. And then we ceased. There were no Paiutes to be seen. Now then way off we caught sight of many of them, high up among the cliffs. And then we went on slowly, we went up a small river. And

- k̄wô'pt ławā' ganteu'ix gantci'lwil̄xt̄x wí'qxał. Aga k̄wô'pt í'wad telpa'g gałx̄ilp!a'lawulal̄EMEX it!ua'n̄xayukc. Aga k̄wô'pt gi'gad gałgi'm̄x it!u'an̄xa. Q̄ē'dau gali'gim̄x it!u'an̄xa: "Ga'du dabi'bo, agaidzi'."¹ Aga k̄wô'pt 5 ik!u'na gali'gim̄x: "Dabi'bo, ga'du agaidzi'."² Aga wí't!a da'ukwa gali'gim̄x iā'niwad: "Gadu dabi'bo, agaidzi'."² Aga k̄wô'pt intc*captain* gali'gim̄x: "Nā'qxi saxemat-k!na'iuigants. Aga tslu'm̄ łxa'lguxt; aga łxu'lal 'agaidzi' łaxta'uaite, qada'ga bíd imcxu'x."
- 10 Aga k̄wô'pt da'uya³ ika'la *Paiute* gali'gim̄x: "Ag' inu'gikel ga'nuit *soldiers*." Aga k̄wô'pt k!wan k!wa'n galuxwa'xax; inxi'am̄xul wā'8.⁴ Aga k̄wô'pt gali'gim̄x ia'xia í'nadīx: "Na'qx' anu'ya." Aga k̄wô'pt wa'x gatctu'xwax idió'qł. Aga k̄wô'pt gatca'wigaluqwx 15 idió'qł it!u'an̄xa. Aga k̄wô'pt gali'kta it!u'an̄xa gali-xwó'xitx. Aga k̄wô'pt da'ba ctmó'ket gactu'ix ntca'ikabama kwó'dau łla'ktike gału'ix; telpa'k ē'wi gału'ix itkiu'danike a'meni. Da'ba gałxó'xamx. Aga k̄wô'pt it*Paiutes* łklu'p gałkcuxax; í'xt ikiu'tan ia'maq gałgi'luxax ayate- 20 k!ē'nba kwó'dau í'xt iatu'kba. Aga k̄wô'pt í'wi í'wi gali'ktax, gatciuda'mit̄x ikiu'tan; ki'nua gatci'xgax. Antca'itike kwó'ba ganteu'yam̄x. Aga k̄wô'pt gali'gim̄x ika'la: "Ia'maq ifgi'lux itcx̄iu'tan it!u'an̄xayukc mó'ket itga'maq iłktó'wix." Aga k̄wô'pt bíd gantcxu'xwax.
- 25 Aga k̄wô'pt gali'gim̄x ika'la: "Iak!a'mela-ixpa łxí'la-itix it!u'an̄xayukc; aq!E'lax aki'xax; k!ā'ya qē'negi al-kłu'xwa." Ctmó'ket icka'la cta'xta itk!a'lamatba gactu'la-it̄x. Aga k̄wô'pt gac̄xk!wa'x nca'ikaba; nā'wit gactu'yam̄x. Aga k̄wô'pt gacgi'm̄x: "Iak!a'mela-ixba łxí'la-itix it!u- 30 a'n̄xayukc." Aga k̄wô'pt plā'la gantcxu'xwax ka'nauwē. Aga k̄wô'pt í'xad ika'la í'wad gayu'yax. Aga k̄wô'pt

¹ Literally, "Fish-eaters." This sentence is in Shoshonean.

² This sentence is in Shoshonean.

then farther on some Paiutes were talking excitedly among themselves. Now then the one towards us spoke, a Paiute. Thus said the Paiute: "They are not whites, they are Wascos."¹ And then another one said: "They are whites, not Wascos."² And again as before the first one spoke: "They are not whites, they are Wascos."² Now then our captain said: "Do not look around! Now they are uncertain as to who we are. Now those men are saying 'Wascos,' (but) do you just keep quiet."

And then this³ Paiute man said: "Now I have surely seen that they are soldiers." And then (our people) became glad and yelled their war-whoop: wā+.⁴ And then yonder man across the river said: "I shall not go (to meet them)." So then he set fire to his house. Now then the Paiute's house burned, and then the Paiute ran off and escaped. And then here two of our men went on, and four of their men went (to meet them); very quickly they went ahead on horseback. Here they came together. And then the Paiutes shot at the two; they wounded one horse in his shoulder and one in his neck. Now then (one man) looked about as he ran off, the horse ran away with him; in vain he tried to hold him back. We arrived there. And then the man said: "The Paiutes have wounded my horse, they have wounded the two of them." And then we quieted down.

Now then the man said: "The Paiutes are staying in a bad place. There is a fence (there) and we can't do anything to them." Two men (went over and) staid there at the cliffs. And then they came back to us, straightway they arrived. And then the two of them said: "The Paiutes are staying in a bad place." And then we all stopped. Now then one man went off a

³ That is, the one near us.

⁴ As above.

- gantcxełtemô'qwax wô'8¹ inxi'amxul gałgi'uxwax. Qucti'axa ia'maq gałgi'luxwax it!ua'nxayuke ika'la iaqui'tba. Aga kxwô'pt gałksubena'iu; gałgi'gelgax ika'la. Aga kxwô'pt gi'gad gałgi'ukł. Aga kxwô'pt kwô'ba wi'gwa
 5 plā'la gantcux'wax.
- Aga kxwô'pt gali'gimx *icaptain*: "Kwa'ic adamcelu'da mô'ket itk!a'munak ag' a'lem' amsksu'bena it!u'anxayuke-ba." Aga kxwô'pt ika'la ia'maq gali'lwulxtx aga nixi-maxitx qē'dau: "°E' °E' °E' etc;" aga q!oa'b ia'xibā'²
 10 'gałax. Aga kxwô'pt gali'gimx *icaptain* ia'xleu *Billy Chinook*: "Nāqxā' dik' alxu'xwa ag' alxk!wa'y' aga a'lema dik' a'lxuxwa, sa'qu' a'lem' ałktu'dinaya it!u'anxayuke idel-xaxi'udaniuke qxa'dagatci alxk!wa'y' aga. Ya'xtau ika'la ia'maq ia'tcgeMEM kwaic lu'xwan ayu'meqta ag' a'lem'
 15 algi'ukł." — "Ā'-u qwô'tk' alxk!wa'y' aga." Aga kxwô'pt gantcxełt'xuitckax ag' alxk!wa'y' aga. Aga kxwô'pt ika'la ia'maq ia'x'utan gantcckikł'atqwôx. Aga kxwô'pt gantc-gikł'a'-imitx. Aga kxwô'pt ika'la a-ik!a'u idia'quit gantc-gi'uxwax.
- 20 Aga kxwô'pt gantcu'ix nā'wid wi'qxał; gantcu'pgiux itlcqô'ba. Aga kxwô'pt łklu'p galu'xwaxax itgwô'lala; nā'qxi can ita'maq gaqxi'lluxax. Wā'x wax nu'it łklu'p nuxwax itgwô'lala; kā'nauwē gaqentcu'qłpax. Aga kxwô'pt inxi'amxul gałgi'uxax it!u'anxayuke nca'ikaba; wā'8²
 25 gałxu'xwax. Aga kxwô'pt gali'gimx *icaptain*: "Ag' anłu'l'xama it!u'anxayuke, ca'n ałganelgē'laba." Aga kxwô'pt gali'gimx ika'la: "Na'ik' anłul'xa'ma it!u'anxayuke. Qē'negi mxlu'xwan qē'neg' amłul'xa'ma?" — "Anłul-xa'm' aga ā' nigixux iaga'it icta'mx'³ alxdinaya gwe'nema-
 30 łāł ite'l'x a'watci i'xt itak!a'munak ite'l'x qxa'dagatci nā'qxi pu łklu'b amckcu'xwa.⁴ Qxa'daga hā'ē amencge'lgela kwô-

¹ As above, in a high pitch.² As above.³ That is, the President of the United States.

ways. And then we heard yelling: wô+,¹ the (Paiutes) yelled the war-whoop. As it turned out, the Paiutes had wounded the man in his leg. And then some (of us) jumped up and seized the man. And then they brought him hitherwards. And then we stopped there all day.

Now then the captain said: "Soon I shall give you all two hundred (bullets), and you shall jump upon the Paiutes." And then the injured man's wound swelled, and he lay groaning thus: 'E' 'E' 'E' *etc.* Now the sun was nearly (down) way yonder. And then the captain, his name was Billy Chinook, said: "Let us no longer stay here, but let us return home. If we stay here, the Paiutes will kill off all of our horses, so that we had better return home now. That wounded man is sick, and perhaps he will die soon; now we shall take him with us." (We said): "Yes, indeed, let us return home now!" So then we got ready and were now about to return home. And then we bound the wounded man to his horse and put him astride him. And then we tied the man's legs.

Now then we went on straight to the river and waded in the water. And then the guns were shot (at us), but no one was wounded. Immediately when it was daylight, the guns were shot; they missed all of us. And then the Paiutes yelled a war-whoop to us; wā+² they yelled. And then the captain said: "Now I want to speak to the Paiutes; who will interpret for me?" And then a man said: "I will speak to the Paiutes. What do you think? What are you going to tell them?" — "I shall tell them that the Great Chief³ has made up his mind that we fight for fifty years or one hundred years, so that you had better not be shooting.⁴ You must first see us before you shoot at us; maybe you will run out of am-

⁴ Sarcastic. "Don't waste your powder."

dau ik!u'b amcencgu'xwa, di'gutciḡ aluxwa'ḡxuma idemca'-gamatcx.¹ Da'uax a'-ixt aga'matcx na'ika qxa'dag' ayamclu'da; mca'ika it!u'anxayuke amexi'duitcatk, mcxa'ngiduitcatk." Aga kḡwô'pt ik!u'p gatccu'xwax.

- 5 ḡa'bixiḡ gatclu'lḡamḡ: "A'xtau aga'matcx qxa'daga ya'mclut. Ag' ā' igi'xux iaga'it icta'mḡ ag' alxdí'naya luwa'n ilā'klamunak ite'lḡ." Aga kḡwô'pt gantcxu'xwax qē'dau: wā'8.² Aga kḡwô'pt gantcu'ix ḡa'bixiḡ identcagu'yimxadiamt. Gantcgiu'k! ika'la ia'maq kla'u gaqi'-
- 10 uxax idia'quitba; ag' iatege'mem nixu'xwax ika'la. Aga kḡwô'pt mô'ket itkiu'daniukc gatgi'ḡ gadinsxsgē'nemux identcôgu'yimxadiamt. Aga kḡwô'pt gatkc'u'lḡamḡ: "Atga'dit ide'lḡam íḡad ika'la ia'maq iqí'lut, aga qí'lt." Aga kḡwô'pt da'ba gayuxwigi'lḡax; wí'tla da'ba gayu-
- 15 ḡwigi'lḡax; la'kt watu'l gaqô'xwax. Aga kwô'ba gantcu'yamḡ. Aga kḡwô'pt gantcaxla'kwax watu'l. Da'uda-itc itka'lukc identcagu'yimxatba; aga kḡwô'pt gatge'ntcengelgax identca'kcenba; *shake hands* gatge'ntcuxwax.

- Aga da'ba gantcaxla'kwaxiḡ watu'lba. Aga kḡwô'pt
- 20 gatgintcu'lḡamḡ: "Ca'n ila'maq igixa'flux?" Aga kḡwô'pt gantcgiu'pge'naḡ ia'maq igixi'lux Tla'mlauwai. Gantcklu'lḡamḡ lḡabla't gantcga'gelgax ana'ḡxat it!u'anxayuke agati'lḡ. Aga kḡwô'pt nā'wid nugwa'lalamḡ ana'ḡxat itga'lalamax; wā'pul gatgu'yutckwax gada'nlakwax itga'kcenb'
- 25 ana'ḡxat. Aga kḡwô'pt íḡad ik!a'skas gaqi'gelgax itlu'anxa ilisa'qba gaqixu'tgax; iaxta'ba watu'l gantcu'yamḡ. Kwô'ba gaqixwafa'dapax kwô'ba nikta'lalemax watu'lba gaqiucga'makwôx ik!a'skas it!u'anxa. Wā'pul galugwa'lalamax dawaḡwa'ḡ nu'it a-ilā'x aga'ḡax. Aga kḡwô'pt pla'la
- 30 nuxwa'xux ide'lḡam.

Ika'l' aga iatege'mem galixu'xwax. Aga kḡwô'pt ga-

¹ Literally, "Your bullets will be eaten up, consumed."

² As above.

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munition.¹ This one bullet I shall give you just for fun. Do you Paiutes listen, listen to me!" And then he shot off his gun.

In the evening he said to them: "That bullet I gave you just for fun. Now the Great Chief has made up his mind that we fight perhaps a hundred years." And then we yelled thus: wā+.² And then at night we went towards our camp. We took the wounded man along with us and he was tied by his legs; the man had now become sick. And then two horses went on, went on ahead of us towards our camp. And then the two men (riding them) said to those (in camp): "The people are coming, and one man has been wounded; now they are bringing him." And then they made a fire here, another fire they made here; four fires were made. Now there we arrived. And then we passed around the fire. These men were in our camp; and then they took us by our hands and shook hands with us.

Now here we passed by the fire. And then they said to us: "Who has been wounded?" And then we named who had been wounded — T!a'māuwai. We told them that we had taken many scalps, many Paiute (scalps). And then straightway the people sang the scalp song; all night long they danced and went around with scalps in their hands. Now then a certain Paiute boy was taken and enclosed in a sack. We went right there up to the fire. There he was taken out, there he ran about near the fire, and the Paiute boy was captured (as though in war). All night long they sang, right up to early dawn, when the sun just began to appear. And then the people stopped.

Now the man had become sick. So then a long pole was set up, and then ceremonial feathers were tied on

- qiu'txemitx ikla'munaq ia'iqdix. Aga kxwó'pt itklicge-
 la'lamax kla'u gaqti'luxwax icgi'lukc ia'kutc ikla'munaqba
 ca'xlix ika'la ya'yulmax. Galí'gimx ika'la: "Ag' a'numeqta
 ag' amcgenxcmó'gwa qe'neg' angí'ma da'n iné'lqfat ná'ika
 5 nkla'ckac ganextki'xax. Aga kxwó'pt da'n ganigé'lkel¹
 nkla'ckac qxa'dagatci ag' axameeluk^ui'tcgwa dan wó'wó
 gatci'ntxa nkla'ckac dan ganitgla'qlq. Aga tslu'nus icgi'ti
 aexa'txa. Qē'dau nxe'lqfat ganxleqla'xit nkla'ckac. Ga-
 yu'ya da'la'lmax igu'cax ganigé'lkel kwó'dau datkl'u'b igu'-
 10 cax gayu'ya. Aga kxwó'pt gactu'y' icgi'ti. Cma'nix
 a'lēma nā'qxi ackgi'ttia kwó'dau cma'nix a'lēma nā'qxi
 watsu'ptsup ag' a'lēma iquct anu'meqta." Aga gactugi't-
 tix kwó'dau watsu'ptsup aga galí'gimx ika'la ia'maq:
 "Ag' anxgwa'da itcqdó'ba ag' amcgenu'kla." Aga kxwó'pt
 15 itcqdó'yamt gaqi'ukl gaqie'lima'xax. Aga kxwó'pt tla'ya
 galixu'xwax ika'la; ya'yulmax ga'nuit tlu'nuit ya'maq
 galgi'tx itlu'anxayukc. Nā'cqi gali'demqt; tla'ya galixa'tx.
 Ka'nauwē can galgi'tqxemit; na'itla da'uya gani'tqemit.
 Qxi'dau Nadida'nuit itga'xē'wulxemax idagó'meniñ; kla'ya
 20 da'ukwa Ba'cten. Pu gwe'nemix a'uguy'a Nadida'nuit
 kla'y' a'lxē'lēma kla'ya pu a'uge'meta itcqoa'. Qē'dau
 ila'xē'wulxemax Gafa'sq!o; kla'y' idak!wa'cumit. Da'ukwa
 la-it!ike itlu'anxayukc kla'y' ifak!wa'cumit.
 Lu'nix gantcugu'ix kla'y' itlxē'm. Aga kxwó'pt gantc-
 25 gi'gelgax iuk!ó'its ila'lik lu'nlgat ide'lxam. Aga kxwó'pt
 h'xat tslu'nus gaqxi'flutx; lu'qx galgi'uxwax. Yā'xi iden-
 tē'guyimxat; da'uyax ila'lik yók!ó'its lu'qx ganteki'tx
 funlgā't ide'lxam. Aga gantcex^uk!wa'yux; nā'wid iden-
 tē'qlba gantcu'yamx.
 30 Aga wí'tla gantcu'ix; wí'tla gantcklu'naxlamx itlu'an-
 xayukc. Aga gantcklge'lgax ca'ib' aga'lax. Aga kxwó'pt
 nā'wid itcqdó'ba gantcklu'wax galxantcge'luwô'qlqax; galu-

¹ That is, "dreamt when training during the puberty rites for a guardian spirit."

top of the pole to a wolf's backbone, the man's guardian spirit. The man said: "Now I shall die, and do you all hear what I have to say, what I learned when I was a boy. Now then I saw¹ something as a boy, so that now I shall tell you all what it was that spoke with me as a boy, what I recognized. Now it is going to rain a little. Thus I know, I found it out as a boy. I saw black (clouds) passing over the sky, and the sky turned white. And then it rained. If it will not rain and if it will not hail, then truly I shall die." Then it started in to rain and to hail, and the wounded man said: "Now I shall bathe in the water, and you will carry me." So then he was carried to the water and put into it. And then the man recovered; surely indeed the Paiutes had shot at his guardian spirit. He did not die, he became well. Every one saw him, also I here saw him. Thus the Indians have strong hearts; not thus are white people. Indians could pass five days and eat nothing, nor would they drink any water. So strong are the Wascos, they are not cowards. So also they too, the Paiutes, are not cowards.

We passed three nights and there was no food. And then we caught a very small jack-rabbit; (we were) thirty people. And then to each one a little bit (of meat) was given; each one ate (his share). Far away was our camp; this small jack-rabbit we thirty people ate. Then we went each to his own home, straightway we arrived at our houses.

Now again we set out; again we went to look for the Paiutes. Then we caught them when the sun was straight overhead. And then straightway we chased them into the water, they escaped from us; the Paiutes all swam

klí'x'iyux itlu'anxayukc. Aga kxwó'pt iā'xiba itcqô'ba
 lā'2x ałxa'txa itlu'anxayukc. Aga kxwó'pt lgu'b antckł-
 tegu'xa itlu'anxayukc. Kxwó'ba gantcu'guix; k'a'dux
 wi'tlax gantckłgē'lgelx itcqô'ba. Aga kxwó'pt gantcx"
 5 klwa'x; gantckłu'lxamx: "Da'nba mcxpcu'iwalit itlu'an-
 xayukc? Mcti' alxdí'naya." Aga kxwó'pt lku'p gante-
 kcu'xwax; gantckłu'lxamx: "Da'u' aga'matcx qxa'daga
 iqa'mcelut." Aga kxwó'pt gantcx"kl'wa'yux; gantckłgē'l-
 gax wi'ixatpa itlu'anxayukc. Aga wi'tla kwó'ba gantcx-
 10 dí'nax. I'x'ad ika'la itlu'anxa iciagwó'lala kla'uk!au
 idia'pîq ikna'an. Aga kxwó'pt ia'maq gaqi'luxwax itlu'anxa;
 lku'p gaqci'guxwax; nā'wid gayu'meqtx. Łgō'łqdikc gaq-
 łu'dinax itlu'anxayukc; kā'nauwē da'k gaqa'lxuxax ana'ł-
 xat kwó'dau a-ilq!oā'b iła'tuk a ilā'x iła'wan; sā'q" ka'-
 15 nauwē qxi'dau gaqłu'xwax. Ganckcgē'lgax itcagwó'lala;
 nca'ika sā'q" gantckłu'dinax. Aga kxwó'pt galugwa'la-
 lamx ide'lxam anałxa'd ameni; klwan klwa'n nuxwa'xax
 ide'lxam Gałasq!o'.

Aga pla'la gałxu'xwax itlu'anxayukc iqxa'dinaxiamt.
 20 Aga kxwó'pt gałxtki'm itlu'anxayukc: "Aga pla'l' inte-
 xux; kwó'pt aga ilxdí'na." Pla'la gantcxa'tx ka'nauwē.
 Klā'ya gantcgi'gitkēl Pala'-ini itlu'anxayukc iła'ctamx kwó'-
 dau klā'ya gantcgi'gitkēl Ya'wiwa itlu'anxayukc iła'ctamx.
 Aga kxwó'pt nā'wid gantckłu'q kā'nauwē; nā'wid Wala-
 25 wala'ba gantckłu'q; kwó'ba gantckłxa'dima itlu'anxayukc.
 Qē'dau gantcxadí'na itlu'anxayukc; iak!a'mela-ix gantcxa-
 dí'na. Aga itak!a'melamax itlu'anxayukc itagu'liumax.
 Qē'dau ā' gali'xatx igovernment qxa'dagatci gantcxa'dina
 naika Pa'pkēs¹ ganxa'dina.

30 Aga na'-ima ka'nauwē gałxa'ła-it Gałasq!o'; da'uya
 wi'gw' aga ctmó'kctka *Warm Spring*pa klma na'ika

¹ Pa'pkēs is one of Louis Simpson's Indian names; it was said by him to have been borne by a former Wishram chief. His common Indian name to-day is Me'nait.

off. And then way yonder in the water some Paiutes would just appear. And then we would shoot at the Paiutes. There we camped over night; in the morning we again caught sight of them in the water. And then we started home; we said to them: "What do you Paiutes all keep hiding yourselves for? Come, let us fight!" And then we shot off one volley. We said to them: "This bullet we have given you for nothing." Now then we started home. We caught some Paiutes on the road. Now again we fought there. One of the Paiute men had magpie-feathers tied on to his gun. And then the Paiute was fired at, he was shot; straightway he died. Eight Paiutes were killed; their scalps were all taken off, and their necks cut through, their bellies ripped open; to every one of them it was thus done. We took their guns, we killed them all. And then the people sang with scalps; happy the Wasco people became.

Now the Paiutes ceased from the war. Now then the Paiutes said: "Now we have stopped, we have fought enough." We all stopped. We did not see Pala'-ini, chief of the Paiutes, nor did we see Yawi'wa, chief of the Paiutes. And then we took them all back with us. Straight to Wallawalla we took them back; there we left the Paiutes. Thus we and the Paiutes fought, fiercely we fought. And the Paiutes are bad people, they are thieves. Thus the government agreed, so that we fought. I, Pa'pkes,¹ fought.

Now I am alone, all the Wascos (who fought) are dead. This day there are now only two at Warm Spring and I — we three fought with the Paiutes. Now to-day

ncf'u'nikck' aga gantcxa'dinax ilt!u'anxayukcba. Da'uya
 wi'gw' aga ilt!u'ktimax ag' afa'wôwôt Ba'ctenemt lapla'-
 lamextsemex ilt!u'anxayukc. Da'uya wigwa it!u'anxa
 ya'xan klm' ag' ayasq!u' ika'la aya'xan tcu'cgamt. Qxi'dau
 5 *government* gatcuguitxu'dinemtck.

3. A FAMINE AT THE CASCADES.¹

A'ngadix lga wa'lu gaktu'x ide'lxam; la'belat galuxwa'-
 la-it. Aduxixi'kfxa ika'la gatcudukwa'ckwax aya'gikal:
 "Aga t!u'ktiḡ amu'ya agū'tḡixiamt agē'mluda dan iḡe'-
 lem aliḡe'lmuxma itxa'qxuq." — "T!u'kdi-iḡ," gagiulxam,
 10 "anu'ya." Kwôpt galu'ix; gagia'lut icima'lq ba'ma ikli'f-
 xwalalmat iaga'ifbât icima'lq. Kwâpt lq!ô'p gagiuxwax
 iḡcô'qt ika'titck kwô'dau iskl'i'mks; gagiuklam. Gatu'l-
 xam: "K!a'ya amillu'da itxa'qxuq; qa'xba hat!a'uiḡba
 amyu'tka." — "A'-ū," gagiulxam. Kwôpt gagi'utk.

15 Ła'belat idiagē'xeltkiu ka'nawi wa'lu geḡu'xt. Quctia'xa
 q!wā'p aga gawaxē'mdiḡ. Ka'dux gayu'ix wima'fiamt;
 gatcu'xwa ala'lax ikica'tckba. K!a'ya can lgiu'qxemit
 kwaic ka'dux yu'yem. Ka'ḡqun aga gatcge'lgax ick!a'-
 taqxi mô'kct. Wí'tlax gayu'ix ka'dux; dau'kwa gatcge'l-
 20 genif. Kwô'ba tcu'delk; la'belat gacxu'x kwô'dau ga-
 tcu'kl itla'q'fiamt. Gatu'lxam: "T!a'ya amcukste'mita
 da'ucta ick!a'taqxi. Ts!u'nus ts!u'nus amiḡu'da itxa'qxuq
 qxa'datci k!a'ya ifatege'mem aḡku'xa." — "A'-ū," gagi'ux.
 Ła'-itlike ifiagē'xeltkiu gaktclu'tx mâ'kct mô'kct, yaḡa sa'qx^u
 25 aga wa'lu geḡu'xt. Kwaic k!a'ya stu'kst kwôpt gaḡcxe'lmux-
 baḡ aḡumqxta.

¹ This account of a famine at the Cascades was taken down in Indian from an old woman by my interpreter, Peter McGuff, who supplied also an interlinear translation. The events took place about 1835.

the Paiutes are good and speak English, they are peaceful. To-day a Paiute's son and a Wasco man's daughter marry. Thus Government helped them.

3. A FAMINE AT THE CASCADES.¹

Long ago, I believe, the people suffered hunger; many of them died. They tell about a man (who) sent his wife (to get food): "Now it is good that you go to my elder sister, she will give you some food, our children will eat." — "It is well," she said to him. "I shall go." Then she went away. She gave her (sister-in-law) a sea-shell for a necklace, so large a sea-shell. Then (her sister-in-law) cut some dried pounded salmon and dry fish-skin. She brought it home. He said to her: "You will not give it to our children; you will put it away in some hidden place." — "Yes," she said to him. Then she put it away.

He had many slaves; all of them are hungry. Behold, springtime is now near at hand. In the morning he went off to the river; he constructed a fish-trap at the falls (when) no one sees him, very early in the morning he always goes. Finally he caught two suckers. Again he went off in the morning; as before he kept catching them. There he always puts them away; they got to be many and he brought them to their house. He said to her: "You shall cook these suckers carefully. You shall give our children just a little bit, so that it will not make them sick." — "Yes," she said to him. To them too, his slaves, she gave each two suckers; indeed they are all hungry now. The suckers are not yet done; then, when some of them ate of them, they died.

T!u' la!la ga'lixuxix; ma'nk la'belat gatcige'lga. Anix
 anix aga gatcigelga'niŋ igū'nat; aga it!u'ktiŋ ŋi'la-itix.
 Aya'-utxiŋ itca'qxuq galu'yamx a'-ixat yalŋwa't ifacima'lq.
 Gala'kim agagē'lak, da'k gagi'uxwax ak!a'ckac, gagia'lutx.
 5 Gaqxu'lŋamx ak!a'ckac: "Aya'melŋwaya imca'sklimks
 kwō'dau imcaka'titck." Galu'yam ak!a'ckac itlō'qŋba. Ga-
 gi'ugulōqŋ ifasa'mun; gala'xemasait. Ka'nawi ide'lŋam
 gatga'xel^ulitck itgatq!i'xumit. Ła'belat ide'lŋam kwōpt
 galu'xwaŋa-it wa'lu ŋgi. Ka'nawi qa'xba la'belat itga'
 10 kwō'dau ika'ba wima'ŋba.

4. A PROPHECY OF THE COMING OF THE WHITES.¹

A'ngadiŋ ŋga galu'xiqŋaxit ide'lŋam aga q!wa'p atgadi'-
 mama Ba'cten. Iŋa't ŋga gali'xelqŋaxit iqli'uqt ŋa'bixix.
 Kwōpt galixgigwa'qwx; gatcuŋi'gelŋ uxalu'idat ide'lŋam,
 wa'wa gatgi'ux, gatkdixnimanani'mtck ka'nawi dan; kwō'-
 15 dau itcā'waclalamax² gatca'witcmōq qxa'wat ŋga ŋu'n tci
 la'kt. Ka'dux^u galigi'mx sā'q^uba ide'lŋam. Aga kwō'pt
 gadige'lŋaq kā'nawi can itgagi'lak itka'la itk!a'ckac itq!i'uqt
 sā'q^u can. Gayaxa'wik^ulitck ide'lŋam dān gatcige'lgelŋ
 itqxi'uba ŋa'bixix. Aga kwō'pt gadige'lŋaq; gatguwi'utck
 20 ka'nawi wi'gwa ka'nawi ŋa'bixix; k!wa'n k!wan galuxwa'-
 xax engi idia'watca.

Gali'kim: "Kwa'-ic adilga'tgwama da'nmax uxalu'idat;
 k!a'ya wi't!ax aŋga'dix diwi; k!a'ya wi't!ax da'uda ide'l-
 xa'kdi kwaic alkdu'cima; atkla'ma ka'nawi dan uxalu'idat;

¹ This text, like the preceding, was taken down in Indian and provided with an interlinear translation by my interpreter, Peter M^cGuff, the source being an

It became quite warm and he caught a little more. Finally now he began to catch Chinook salmon; now they are living prosperously. His elder sister's children came to (them), one of them has their sea-shell around her neck. The woman told her (about it), the girl took it off of herself, and gave it to her. The girl was told: "I shall put the dried fish-skin and the dried pounded salmon of you people around your neck." The girl arrived at their house. (Her mother) recognized their fish, she was ashamed. All the people talked about her being stingy. Many people then died of hunger. Everywhere there was much snow and ice in the river.

4. A PROPHECY OF THE COMING OF THE WHITES.¹

Long ago, I believe, the people learned that now whites would soon come. One old man, I believe, learned of it at night. Then he dreamt; he saw strange people, they spoke to him, and showed him everything; and he heard something like three or four Indian² songs. In the morning he spoke to all the people. And then everybody gathered together to hear him, — women, men, children, old men, — everybody. He told the people what he had seen in his sleep at night. And then they gathered together to hear him; they danced every day and every night. They were made glad because of his story.

He said: "Soon all sorts of strange things will come. No longer (will things be) as before; no longer, as will soon happen, shall we use these things of ours. They will bring to us everything strange; they will bring to us

old woman named Sophia Klickitat. The events are supposed to have taken place at the Cascades long before the coming of the whites.

² Ca'wac ("Indian"), from Chinook jargon sa'iwac.

atkla'ma a-ic amik!lu'qdia ixé'lalal dan ya'xiba, dapa'u ayu'lktewaya, ayu'meqta." Quctiaxa icgwa'lala ya'xdau gatceu'lxam. "Aqxa'lama atli'wat qxalkli'tcxemal; k!a'ya wi'tlax amu'cima anga'dix bama amitli'wat ak!a'lamat
 5 engi." Qu'ctiaxa ga'nuit gatkla'm gatcedu'lxam ide'lxam. "K!a'ya wi'tlax ala'mxpecta anga'dix diwi." Wā'ou k!wa'n k!wan galu'xwax; cpa'k galu'wiutck. "Aqxtla'ma da'ngi idak!a'itsax itk!a'munôq daxka' ngi alamx'gi'lxa." Qu'ctiaxa ame'tsis a'xdau gatceu'lxam.

- 10 Wi'gwamax wā'pulmax gatguwi'utck; k!a'ya wa'lu gaku'du'x, tlu'nwit bū't galu'xwax. Kā'nawi dan gatgi'gelkel iql'i'stūn aql'i'stūn aql'i'wiqxi astū'p. "Uxalu'idat ide'lxam atkla'ma qxi'dau da'nmax; datgū'pmax ide'lxam itgami'q-cumax wata'xba aga'laxiamt atga'dimama. Tcu'xenika
 15 mxa'tx." Aga' yaxa cpā'k wi'tlax asuxibu'nōninxla; bu't nuxwa'x cpa'k. Aga ga'nuit da'uka da'nmax da'uya wigwa aga tlu'nwit da'ukwa galixgigwa'qwa iql'i'uqt. Kwōpt ya'xpt k!a'ya dan iduiha'max; kwaic gatgi'lam Ba'cten; ya'ima caxela'damt bama ica'wacduihamax. K!a'ya wi'tlax
 20 dan iki'utan, da'ima itq!u'tsulxlem. Qxi'dau a'ngadix galu'xwax wi'ma' bama ide'lxam.

(something which) you just have to point at anything moving way yonder, and it will fall right down and die." As it turned out, it was a gun of which he spoke. "There will be brought to us a bucket for boiling-purposes; no longer will you use your old-fashioned bucket made out of stone." As it turned out, they really brought to us what he told the people of. "No longer will you make fire by drilling with sticks as before." Still more were they made glad, they danced with energy. "Certain small pieces of wood will be brought to us with which you will make a fire." As it turned out, it was matches whereof he spoke.

For days and nights they danced. They were not at all hungry, truly they did their best (in dancing). Everything they saw — ax, hatchet, knife, stove. "Strange people will bring us such things. White people with mustaches on their faces will come from the east. Do you people be careful!" Then indeed they would again jump up and down; they did their best strongly. And truly things are just so to-day; now surely the old man dreamt just that way. Up to that time there were no cattle at all. Presently white people brought them; only farther up there were buffaloes. Nor were there any horses either, only dogs. Thus long ago did it happen to the people dwelling along the river.

APPENDIX. SUPPLEMENTARY UPPER CHINOOKAN TEXTS.

I. COYOTE AND EAGLE, A WASCO TEXT.

(Recorded by Franz Boas.)¹

Nictâxt sk!u'lia² kwôda'u ia'-uḡiḡ itcli'nun. A'ga nigiq!wô'lalem³ itcli'nun, maga⁴ sk!u'lia² qlawileḡa'm⁵ nigixu'lalumniḡ isklu'lia tq^ufi'ba. Maga tcli'nun² nitctudi'nniḡ tcl'a'nk.⁶ Maga nitctu'ctx tcl'ank,⁶ qa'wat môkct a'watci
 5 ḡun tq^ufi'ba. Aḡa kwô'ba ni'ḡximniḡ lā'xaniḡ tq^ufi'ba, maga nicḡu'lpḡq tq^ufi'ba. Maga sklu'lia² niyu'yamniḡ, da'-im' ala'gasks nitcta'mniḡ. Maga nitctucila'lēmniḡ tq^ufi'ba, maga itcli'nun nitctu'tcḡmalmani'ḡ tqē'waq.

Maga kl'makā'n² nitciuxu'lalamniḡ isklu'lia. A-ic da'-uka nitciḡi'tpcut ia'-uḡiḡ isklu'lia, tcli'nun² niḡḡi'dwaq. Kwapt
 10 a'ga qaamailā'xna⁷ niḡuḡa'lidniḡ. Maga nigikim ya'xkaba: "Qwa'tka, anu'ya tkl'a'munaqba. Skwapkadī'ḡ tgadi'mama Nadida'nuitkc."⁸

¹ This short Wasco text, as well as the Clackamas text that follows it, was collected by Dr. Franz Boas in 1892 at Grand Ronde Reservation in northwestern Oregon, and has been kindly put at my disposal by him. The phonetic system of the original has been modified to accord with that used in this book. The text is linguistically interesting for two reasons. In the first place, it exhibits a considerable number of frequentative verb-forms in -niḡ (and -l...-niḡ, -almenḡ, -lalēmniḡ). In the second place, the narrative verb-forms have as tense-prefix, not the ga- or gal- of remote past time characteristic of my own Wishram texts, but the ni- or nig- of indefinite past time. This latter tense-prefix is identical with the ni- or nig- of the forms found in the Wishram letters above, pp. 194-198. It is important to observe that the ni- forms of this Wasco text have -u- as directive prefix, while the Wishram ni- forms referred to have the correlative -t- prefix; the change from -n- to -t- implies a change from action in the distant past to action nearer the present day.

² These forms are masculine nouns, but lack the regular pronominal prefix -i.

APPENDIX. SUPPLEMENTARY UPPER CHINOOKAN
TEXTS.

I. COYOTE AND EAGLE.¹

Coyote and his younger brother Eagle were living together. Now Eagle used to go out to hunt, but Coyote was left at home, Coyote used to be in the house. And then Eagle always killed deer, and he carried the deer on his back, (bringing) about two or three to the house. Now there they always lay outside of the house. And then he used to go inside in the house. Now then Coyote used to arrive, (but) he always brought merely mice. And then he used to roast them in the ashes in the house, but Eagle used to boil meat.

Now then Coyote always got angry. So Coyote just secretly killed his younger brother, they slew Eagle. Then he never used to stay long in any place. And then he said to himself: "Never mind! I shall go to the woods. Very soon the Indians will come here."⁸

This omission of *i-* seems to be phonetically parallel to the not infrequent dropping of the *i-* in the neuter, dual, and plural prefixes of the noun (*t-*, *c-*, and *t-* instead of *it-*, *ic-*, and *it-*).

³ Very probably an error for *nigiq!wó!lalemnit*, as the *-em-* is a mere connective between the continuative *-lal-* and the frequentative *-nit* or non-frequentative *-tck*.

⁴ It is possible that *ma'ga* is a stereotyped rapid pronunciation of *k!m' a'ga* ("but now, and now"). Compare *ga'ngadiḡ* (as well as *a'ngadiḡ*), "long ago" (from *ag' a'ngadiḡ*, "now long ago").

⁵ This form seems to involve the word *wi'lḡam* ("village").

⁶ For (i)t-tc!a'nk, plural of *i-tc!a'nk*.

⁷ I am entirely unable to explain this word, if indeed it is a single word.

⁸ Notice the typical "Transformer motive" in the last sentence. The idea implied is: "When the Indians come to inhabit the country, things will be as told in the myth. Eagles will always get large game, but coyotes will have to wander about and content themselves with rodents."

2. THE BOY THAT LIED ABOUT HIS SCAR, A
CLACKAMAS TEXT.¹

(Recorded by *Franz Boas*.)

Ikala agiuxu'tum itcā'ḡan. Aqa gayū'ya ite'meqō, aqe'-
lɛmuq atcō'xa. Āqa dē'ka daba² qayalgā'xit qa'lamuq.³
Āqa iq!ē'uqt⁴ nēxox iā'ḡan. Āqa cli'keqiqct⁵ iā'q!aq-
ctaqa; iā'cxalxt tcē'gīlga iā'q!aqctaqa. Nelga'xitḡ qe'-
5 lamuq³ iaq!a'qctaqa niḡyoxtē'mbet. Āga gatciō'lɛḡāmx:
"Qada game'xatx ēmē'cxalx dā'wix?" Kwa'bd atci'uaq
iā'ḡan. Āga gatciō'lḡāmx: "Qāxpō mgwa'fēlḡ mkē'xax?"⁶
— "Kēma'txō⁷ na'-ika ēlā'lax diā'qtcam gatcnē'lagwa."
— "Kwa'bda mxā'tqwat," gatciō'lɛḡāmx iā'ḡan. Āga
10 ik!a'ckac galixqwa'tx. Āga q!ēyu'qt³ nē'xox yā'xka k!a'c-
kac.³ Āga ya'xkaba qanā'gaba⁸ ēmō'lak. Aḡa kwōbd
itē'xulq, q!ēo'qt³ nē'xox. K!anēk!anē'.

¹ This text, short and incomplete as it is, is the only specimen of Clackamas yet published. Linguistically Clackamas seems to be very close to Kathlamet, if not identical with it. The main points of difference from Wishram-Wasco, as exemplified here, are: 1st, the presence in Clackamas, as in Kathlamet, of accented inorganic vowels (agiuxu'tum and game'xatx would be gagiu'xtum and gamxa'tx in Wishram); 2d, the presence, it seems, in some verb forms, of the tense prefix a-, found also in Lower Chinook, alongside of the ga- regularly used in Wishram; 3d, a few lexical differences (e. g., ite'meqō ["wood"]; cf. Kathlamet ē'meqō ["stick"] and aqa'lamuq ["stick"] for Wishram ik!a'munaq ["stick"] itk!a'munaq ["wood"]).

2. THE BOY THAT LIED ABOUT HIS SCAR.¹

She gave birth to a male (child), her son. Now he went to get wood, sticks he gathered. Then a stick ran into him right here.² Now his son became older. Then (his father) louses him on his head and finds his scar on his head. After they had given birth to him, a stick had run into him on his head, (whence his scar). Then (his father) said to him: "How did you come to get this scar of yours?" Then he whipped his son. Then he said to him: "Where did you get to be so?"⁶ — "Once a deer struck me with its horns." — "Then bathe!" he said to his son. Then the boy bathed. Now he, the boy, became older, but elks never appeared to him (when he hunted, for he had falsely accused them of inflicting the scar upon him). Now then it is finished; he got to be old. Story, story.

² Pointing to head.

³ These nouns lack the masculine pronominal prefix *i-*.

⁴ *Iq!ē'uqt* means properly "old man." It is here used, probably unidiomatically, for "old, older."

⁵ Probably *tciḡE'qiqt* ("he louses him").

⁶ Literally, "Where you-person (or you-poor-one) you-become?"

⁷ *-txō* occurs in Kathlamet in *tā'ntxō* ("why?") Perhaps this should be *tkē-watxō* ("thus").

⁸ Related to *qanā'x* ("how many?")

WASCO TALES AND MYTHS

COLLECTED BY

JEREMIAH CURTIN

Edited by EDWARD SAPIR.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The twenty-five tales and myths that make up the following collection of Wasco folk-lore were obtained by the late Jeremiah Curtin in the first months of the year 1885 at Warm Spring Reservation, Oregon (see 6th Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth., 1884-'85, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii). Permission to publish Curtin's Wasco mythological material in this volume has been kindly granted by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Curtin is well known to students of American mythology by his set of Wintun and Yana myths, published under the title of "Creation Myths of Primitive America" (Boston, 1903); J. Mooney has also arranged and published five Seneca historical traditions, obtained by Curtin from the Senecas of New York State, in his "Myths of the Cherokee" (see 19th Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Eth., 1897-98, pp. 359-364, 365-370). The larger part, however, of Curtin's collection of American myths, is still in manuscript.

Outside of comparatively unimportant changes in titles, wording, and paragraphing, the text of Curtin's manuscript has been allowed to stand. For the grouping, however, of the material into the five heads of Tales, Guardian-Spirit Stories, Coyote Stories, Atlatla'ia Stories, and Miscellaneous Myths, for the arrangement of the tales and myths within each group, and for the footnote comments, the editor is responsible. It has also seemed best to replace Curtin's Indian names of the characters by their English equivalents; for where the names of the myth characters and the ordinary animal names are identical, as is generally the case in American mythology, there seems to be little point in treating the Indian names as untranslated proper nouns.

The Wasco Indians (calling themselves Gaṭasqlo¹) formerly occupied the southern shores of Columbia River in the region of The Dalles, and formed, with the closely related Wishram (more properly Wi'cxam) or Ita'xluit on the northern shore of the river, the most easterly members of the Chinookan stock. To the east and south the Wasco were contiguous to tribes of Shahaptin stock, to the north and west to members of the same stock as themselves. At present they reside on Warm Spring Reservation, in what was originally mainly Shahaptin territory; they are here closely associated with Shahaptin (chiefly Tenino) Indians and with Oregon Shoshones (Paiutes, Snakes). Excepting Boas' "Traditions of the Tillamook Indians" (in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. VI., pp. 23-38, 133-150) and the rather small number of Klamath mythical texts contained in Gatschet's "Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon" (*Contr. N. Am. Eth.*, Vol. II., Pt. I, pp. 64-132), these Wasco tales and myths are practically the first specimens of Oregon mythology yet published. It will be observed that they exhibit a considerable number of close resemblances to and identities with incidents already published in Boas's "Kathlamet Texts" and in my preceding "Wishram Texts." Were more comparative material available from Washington and Oregon, it would probably be found that the Chinookan, at any rate Upper Chinookan, tribes formed, in comparison with neighboring tribes, pretty much

¹ Wasco (more properly Wa'sqlo) was the chief village of the Wascos. It was situated a few miles above The Dalles, opposite Niḡlu'idix, the main village of the Wishrams. The name is derived from wa'cqlo ("small bowl" or "cup" [generally of horn]), the reference being to a cup-shaped rock near the village, into which a spring bubbles up, or formerly did. The Wasco tribal name Gaṭasqlo' simply means "those who have the cup." Mooney's suggested explanation of Wasko as a Tenino word meaning "grass" or "grass people" (14th An. Rep. Bur. Eth., 1892-93, Pt. 2, p. 741) is apparently an example of Shahaptin "popular etymology."

of a unit in regard to mythology as well as language; material from the Clackamas Indians of Grand Ronde Reservation would be of value in this connection. Only some of the more striking myth cognates have been given in the notes; the steadily increasing bulk of North American mythology makes anything like an exhaustive listing of cognate myths, incidents, and myth motives, impracticable, and accentuates from day to day the need of a concordance to the already published material.

EDWARD SAPIR.

I. TALES.¹1 A WASCO WOMAN DECEIVES HER HUSBAND.²

A man and his wife and four children lived at Wasco. It was the time of year when the women were cutting grass to pack their dried fish in. One day, while this woman was getting grass, a man from Tenino³ came and talked with her. They fell in love with each other and planned to deceive the old husband. The woman said, "I will go to a creek and eat alder-bark till I spit it up; he will think I am spitting blood. After a time I'll pretend to die." — "All right," said the man. She chewed the bark. At night she came to the house, apparently suffering terribly, and said, "I can't live." — "What's the matter?" asked her husband. "Oh, I must have broken something inside." She had told the other man, "I'll die at daybreak. They will bury me, and you must be near to dig me up quickly."

At daybreak she died. Before dying she said to her husband, "When I die, take my cup and mountain-sheep horn dish and cover my face. Don't cover it all up."

¹ Under this title are included five narratives that deal with the doings of human beings as such; in other words, the idea of a mythic or pre-Indian age, the people of which are the untransformed prototypes of present-day animals or plants, is either absent or kept in the background. The word "tale," as contrasted with "myth," is not meant to imply that supernatural or mythical elements are lacking, but merely that such elements are thought in these tales to have entered into the life of human beings as now constituted. The last few sentences of No. 1 almost wilfully turn a pure tale into a myth by the introduction of Coyote in his familiar rôle of transformer. With these tales as a class compare *Wishram Texts*, pp. 201-231 of this volume, and Boas's *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 155-230.

² For the myth motive of pretended death in order to satisfy forbidden lust, compare *Wishram*, pp. 105-107 of this volume (Coyote and his Daughter).

³ Tenino (or Tí'nainō), a village of the Wa'yam Indians (known to the Wasco as Hk'l'a'imamt), was situated nearly five miles above The Dalles, being the first Shahaptin village on the south side of the Columbia east of Chinookan territory.

The husband buried her soon after sunrise. As soon as he went away, the other man dug her up, and she went with him to Tenino. The old husband built a sweat-house, sweated five days, and mourned much. He did not know what to do with his children, they cried and worried so. One day he took the children out and made pictures on the rocks to amuse the youngest child — pictures of deer, birds, and weapons. To amuse his little girl he placed five stones in the road, one after another, and made holes in each stone.

Towards midnight of the following day the fire went out, and in the village the fires went out in every house. Next day the father said to the eldest boy, "Go over to Tenino and get fire." The two boys started. Towards sundown they reached Tenino, peeped into the door of a house, and the youngest boy said, "That woman looks like our mother." The other said, "It is our mother." Their father had made a stick of cedar-bark for them with little cracks in it, good to hold fire; they crept up to the fire and lighted this stick. The mother had a young baby. She saw the two boys and asked, "Does your little brother cry much?" — "Yes," said the eldest boy, "he cries all the time."

A few days after this the fire went out again. The boys went four times for fire; the fifth time they told their father that when they went for fire they always saw their mother. He said, "You must not talk that way." They laughed, and he scolded, saying, "It is wrong to say that. Your mother is dead." They said, "No, she is not. We see her every time we go." At last he went to her grave and found it empty. Then he went to Tenino, looked into the house, and saw her with the other man. She went out for water, he followed her, touched her on the shoulder, and said, "Why have you

done this?" She threw her arms around him and begged him to save her life. She said, "I am sorry, and I want to live with you again. This man whips me all the time; I have no peace with him. I'll tell you what to do. When he puts his head on my lap and goes to sleep, you can slip in and cut his head off." This was done, and the man and his wife went home together.

Next morning, when it was time for the man to get up, he still lay covered up. People came in, took the cover off, and found that his head was gone. They could not find the head. They went up to Celilo¹ and to four different villages to hunt for it. At last they heard that the woman's husband had stuck it up on a pole. Then they made war on the man and his people. When both sides were ready to fight, Coyote came along and asked, "What does this mean?" They told him. "No," said he, "I'll not have such a thing; this must end here. A woman should never cause war. I'll end all such things. Right here you people of Tenino become rocks, and you Wascos be rocks." Both sides are standing there to this day, all rocks

2. A HARD WINTER NEAR THE DALLES.²

During a hard winter among the people at Dog River, twenty-five miles below The Dalles, a great snowstorm set in. It snowed for seven months without stopping. The snow had buried the tallest trees out of sight, and the people lived under the snow.

¹ Celilo (Si'lailō) was a Wa'yam village about eleven miles above The Dalles. Twenty or thirty Wa'yam Indians are said to live there yet.

² See a similar tale, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 216-220. In this a trivial but forbidden act done by a child (a boy plays with his excrements) brings on an unusually severe storm; compare also Teit, *The Shuswap* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, p. 744).

At the Cascades people were catching salmon; there was no snow there or at The Dalles. It snowed in one place. The people under the snow did not know that it was summer everywhere else. The way they found it out was this: ---

A little bird came with a strawberry in its bill to an air-hole they had made up out of the snow. They asked what it was that had brought such a storm, and at last discovered that one of the girls in their village had struck a bird. It was proved against the girl, and they offered her parents a great price for her. The parents would not sell her for a long time. At last the people bought her, and, putting her on the ice as it floated down the river, pushed the ice into the middle of the stream. In that way they got rid of the snow. A few days later a Chinook wind came bringing heat. The snow melted away at once, and things began to grow.

The girl floated on, day and night, down the river. Five years she floated. At the end of that time she came back to the place where she had been put on the ice. When she returned, there was but a small bit of ice under her, just enough to hold her bones up. For she was almost gone, only skin and bones remained. They took her into the village. She died. She was no longer accustomed to the smell of people, and died from the odor of them. After a time she came to life, but it was a year before she could eat much.

Every summer after that she was nearly frozen to death, and went all bundled up; but in winter she was too warm, would take off all her clothes, and go naked.

3. AN ARROW-POINT MAKER BECOMES A CANNIBAL.¹

There was an arrow-point maker on the right side of Columbia River, three miles below The Dalles. One day this man cut his finger with flint, so that it bled. He put his finger in his mouth, liked the taste of the blood, ate his finger off, then his hand, pulled the flesh from his arms, legs, and body, and ate it. At last he had only a little bit of flesh left that was below his shoulders on his back, where he could not reach it. He was a skeleton now; nothing but the bones were left, only his heart hung in his body. He went to the next village and ate all the people. They could not kill him, nothing would penetrate his bones.

Now his wife, carrying a little son, escaped, went south, travelling on the grass, right on the tops of the blades of grass, so that he could not track her for a long time.² At last he found the tracks. The moment he found them, his wife knew it.

She travelled day and night in great fear. The husband gained on her, came nearer and nearer all the time. Far ahead of her was a blue mountain. She hurried on. When she reached the foot of the mountain, she saw a house, and went in. A very old man sat on one side making bows and arrows, his daughter sat on the other side making little tobacco-sacks.

The woman called him by a kinship name, but the old man did not answer. The north wind, which had grown

¹ This tale is evidently a composite of two distinct stories. The first part of the tale as here given is a variant of the wide-spread Rolling Skull myth. See, for example, Curtin's *Creation Myths of Primitive America*, pp. 325-335, for a Yana parallel. The second part of the tale, the hunting of the Tobacco people as game, is only loosely joined on to the first.

² Travelling on the tops of blades of grass in order to avoid making tracks is a myth motive found also in *Wishram* (p. 71 of this volume).

stronger, began to blow terribly, and almost carried the house away, threw down great trees. At last she begged so hard, that the old man said, "Hide behind me." That moment the skeleton came in with a frightful wind, walked around the fire, and stamped on the old man's arrows, which broke into bits. The old man seized a long arrow-point and thrust it into the skeleton's heart. That instant the skeleton fell to the ground — a pile of bones. The wind stopped blowing when it fell. The old man said to the wife of the skeleton-man, "Come and throw these bones out doors."

There was plenty of tobacco growing on the hill above the old man's house. He made arrow-points all the time; and when his quiver was full, he would start out and return with it empty, but with tobacco in his hand. The old man and his daughter lived on smoke, neither ate anything; they lived on smoke from the kind of pipe that is made straight. The old man always shot the tobacco; those whom he shot were Tobacco people. When he brought home the tobacco, his daughter put it into the sacks, and they smoked till all was gone. Then he went again for another hunt of these people.

The woman and child lived with the old man and his daughter a long time. When the boy got old enough, he hunted squirrels for his mother. One day when the old man went out, the boy followed him. He saw the old man shoot up at a bluff of high rocks. The Tobacco people all lived on these high rocks. He crept down, sat behind the old man, took an arrow, and wished it to hit the tobacco. The arrow left the bow at the same instant that the old man's arrow left his bow, and five bunches of tobacco came down. The old man was delighted, and danced for joy; he had never shot so much in a whole day. "You are my son-in-law," said the old

man, and went home. The daughter was glad that her father had so much tobacco. The old man said, "I don't know but that it is a death-sign." The boy laughed to himself. The old man said to his daughter, "This is your husband," and added, "The people of the future will be willing to give their daughters to a good hunter, and the girl must wait till the father and mother find such a man.

The old man now rested, and the young man hunted tobacco for him. He filled the house with tobacco. The old man was satisfied. Then the young man, his wife and mother, came to Columbia River. When they came to the village where the young man's father had turned into a man-eater, they found only bones. The young man gathered up the bones, threw paint into the air five times, spoke five times to the sky, and the people all rose up as they were before the man-eater had devoured them.

When the mother was old, she had food given her every day by her daughter-in-law. She grew weak fast, and her son said, "It will be the duty of a daughter-in-law to care for her mother-in-law among the people to come." The mother said, "My daughter and I will go south, and we will be guardian spirits to medicine-women, and will give authority to women to smoke. When a woman smokes, she will be a medicine-woman." The son said, "I will be a guardian spirit to help people. Those whom I help will be good hunters."¹

4. DIABEXWA'SXWAS, THE BIG-FOOTED MAN.²

There was a chief who lived near the mouth of Columbia River. His feet were three feet long, his whole body

¹ The last paragraph, in which arrangements are made for the world to come, helps to give this tale much of the character of a myth.

² Compare *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 158-165. The cognate *Kathlamet* tale begins with the incident of a woman giving birth to dogs which later become human beings,

was in proportion. He had a long house with five fire-places. The house was nicely fixed, with fish and animals carved around on every side. He had a hundred wives, — fifty beds on one side of the house, and fifty on the other. A short distance to one side he had a house in which lived one hundred slaves. These slaves took great baskets every evening at sundown, brought sand from a bank at the seashore, and scattered it around the chief's house for fifty yards in width. Then they smoothed the sand perfectly; not even a mouse could move around the chief's house without leaving tracks.

This big-footed man was chief of all the people about there. After nightfall nobody went near the chief's house. The chief went around his house every night to each one of his wives. About midnight he would be halfway around, and the sun would come when he was with the last wife. He had a great many daughters, but not one son.

News came to Diabexwa'sxwas that there was a chief's daughter in the Wasco country, and he made up his mind to go and buy her. He had fifty canoes filled with provisions and men to take him up the river. They landed near Wasco and came on foot to the village. He brought fifty slaves to give for the chief's daughter, — twenty-five men and twenty-five women. Nādalet was the name of the girl he had come for. They camped beside a bluff of rocks. He bought the girl; her people were willing to sell her, as he was a great chief. Whatever he asked for, he got. He took her home. Next morning, when he returned, he asked, "How many children were born

when their dog-blankets are burned. This is evidently an absolutely distinct story in origin. The connection between the two tales is loosely established by having Tia'pexoaxoac, the Kathlamet correspondent of the Wasco Dia'bexwasxwas, woo one of the dog-children, a daughter, of the woman.

while I was gone?" — "Five girls." He had no sons, because he killed them as soon as they were born, for he did not want any one to be greater than himself.¹

Nādaïet bore him a child in time. The slaves brought sand every evening; it was perfectly level, so that no person could come near to meddle with his wives. After her child was born, he asked, "What is it?" Five of the women had made a plan to deceive him, and they said, "It is a girl." They had been with their husband when he bought Nādaïet, and they sympathized with her. They put girl's clothes on the baby. The five women thought and cared for the child even more than the mother did. Word went out that the chief was killing all his sons. Everybody was angry. The boy grew fast. He was large and heavy, and began to look like a boy; he was very wise. The girls were very large; at three or four years of age they were as large as women. And it is from this that the Chinook people are so large and have such big feet.

The mother of the boy, as he grew older and began to show by his behavior that he was a boy, began to cry. She felt very anxious. The chief noticed this, and thought that she was homesick. He said, "If you wish, you may take the child and go home to your father for a visit. I'll come for you." This was just what pleased the women; they got a canoe ready, and the five women went with her. They told all not to tell about the child, and they promised to keep the secret. As they got up the river out of sight of the old man, they took off the girl's clothes that the child was wearing, and put on a boy's. All that were with her were delighted, and said, "The old man shall not be our master any longer." The boy was named after his father.

¹ For the killing of one's male children, compare also *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 187.

The others returned, the mother remained at Wasco. The mother told the boy about his father and how many boys he had killed. The boy was angry, and hunted in the mountains for guardian spirits, that he might get strength to fight his father. The fifth night he came home and said, "Mother, the five Thunders¹ and Lightnings have given me their strength." His mother said, "That is not enough." He went again, came home the fifth day, and said, "I have the strength of five bands of Grizzly Bears." — "That is not enough." He went the third time, and said, "There are five bands of Elk, and the strength of them is mine; they promised it." — "That is nothing, get more."

The old chief was very bad among his people. He could walk on the water; when people were coming along on the water in a canoe, he could walk out and destroy them.

Now the boy's mother wanted him to get the power of running on the water so that he might overcome his father. She said, "Do not seek power any longer on the mountains, but seek by the water." He went to the water and got the power of the five Whirlpools. His mother said, "That is not enough." When he came the fifth time, he said, "I have the power of the five long-legged Water-Spiders (tsia'xitulul). They said, 'We will give you strength to run on the water, as we do.'" His mother went to the water and saw him run on it; he already had large feet. Now she told him, "You had better look for still another power of something that runs on the water." He got the power of five bands of yellow Flies running on the water (iq!i'naxwixwi). His mother said, "This is enough."

The old chief had not come for his wife and daughter,

¹ Compare, for the five Thunder brothers, Wishram, pp. 121-131 of this volume.

as he had intended to. The young man was now half grown, and was larger and stronger than his father. He gathered fifty canoes and men and weapons, took his mother, and went down to make war on his father for killing all his half-brothers. They landed on the side of the river opposite the house of the old chief, who sent his servants to ferry them over. He did not yet know who the people were. The young man told the men to remain with him, and all were glad to do so. At night he walked over on the water to the other side, and got to the house just as his father rose up from one of the women. As his father went to the next woman, the young man lay down at the foot of the first woman's bed. All that night, as his father went from one woman to another, he followed him. The women all wondered how it was that he came a second time to their bed. They talked together and said, "It must be the young chief, our son, who has come."

The second night he did the same. Next morning the chief saw tracks, measured them, and found that they were larger and broader than his own.¹ He now suspected that he had a son, and told his people to get ready for war. The old chief brought fifty canoes with weapons and made an attack on the young man. He came with a Chinook Wind of great force, while the young chief brought the East Wind. The young man's canoes were urged forward by the East Wind, and the Chinook Wind drove onward those of the old man. When they met, there was a terrible crash; the canoes were broken and sunk. The young man drove the old chief all the way home, and a great many men were drowned. Four days they fought in this way, the East Wind driving the Chinook

¹ In the Kathlamet tale the son's feet are of the same length as his father's, but are broader.

Wind.¹ The fifth day the old man's strength began to fail him. The father and son did not fight in the canoes, but on the water, hand to hand. As the old man's strength began to fail, he began to sink in the water; it would not hold him up any longer. He was overcome by his son and killed. The young chief liberated all his father's wives; only ten he took for himself. His mother went back to the Wasco people and lived with them. The young chief ruled his people well.

5. A WOMAN MARRIES A PERSON WHO IS A DOG IN THE DAY AND A MAN AT NIGHT.

A chief of the *Itqa'ditix*² people lived about four miles below The Dalles. He had a daughter whom he prized beyond anything. One time a dog came and stole away this young woman's paint. She followed the dog for four days, and was nearly dead when she came out of the woods and saw a house at the farther end of a valley. She saw a fire there, went near, and saw a family of small dogs that were carrying fire from the house and making fires in the woods. She entered the house and found three old dogs there. One had a whole family of young dogs; another old dog lay on one side — he had but one eye and both ears were cropped off; and still another dog lay there. She saw a great deal of venison, and wished she had some. That moment a dog jumped up and put venison in front of her. She said, "You should not do that; they will say I stole it." Then she saw a nice buckskin, and thought, "I should like

¹ Compare, for a fight between the Chinook and East winds, Wishram, pp. 103-105 of this volume.

² Curtin's manuscript has *Ickaditix*, to be read probably as *Itqa'ditix*; *itqa'ditix* is the Wasco word for "cinnamon(?) bear."

that." Another dog jumped up, pulled it down, and put it before her. She slapped him and said, "You should not do that; they will say I stole it."

After sundown she woke up, — she was so tired that she had fallen asleep. She heard talking, looked around, saw that the dogs were all gone. Young men were in the house now. One of them said, "We are afraid to give you anything — you slap us so." (The dogs had all turned into young men when the sun went down.) This was the very one who had stolen her paint. She said, "I will stay here to-night, to-morrow I shall go home. I came for my paint."

Now the young man who had stolen the paint lay down beside her. This was the marriage; he took her for his wife. She staid now all the time with her husband. After a while a son was born. The relatives of the man took the child, wrapped it up, opened the ashes carefully, put the baby in, covered it up, and roasted it. The mother was frightened. The husband, seeing this, said, "You can't take care of this boy, you are fond of sleeping. I have sent him to where his grandmother and grandfather are."

Five days and five nights after the child was roasted to ashes, it walked out of the ashes. He could now walk around. He came to his mother and said, "Mother!" She could scarcely believe what she saw. The father said, "Didn't I tell you that it was well cared for?"¹ In time a girl was born. She was treated in like manner.

When the children grew to be quite large, they seemed sad. The mother said, "They want to see their grandparents, I have told them many times about the old people." The man told his relatives to pack plenty of

¹ Compare Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 189. The same kind of adventures are told by the Chinook of a woman who married the Salmon-Harpoon.

dried meat. The woman wondered who could carry such a load. Her husband said, "You go ahead with the children; camp while the sun is still up. If you hear a great noise, pay no heed to it, don't look back." They started, travelled till near sunset, then camped. Soon she heard a great noise in the direction from which she had come; it grew louder and louder. She did not look up. Great packs of meat rolled in and stacked themselves up around the fire, kept coming till all she had seen at home was there.

The second day she camped near sunset, the meat came in the same way. Every evening, as soon as she camped, with a great roar and noise the meat came in and piled itself up around the fire. The fifth evening fresh venison came. The husband and several of his people came soon after. In the morning they all travelled on together; about night they reached her parents. The dried meat followed, and also fresh venison, newly killed.

All the time she had been gone, her father and mother had cut off their hair and mourned for her. All rejoiced at her return; she gave meat to every one. The fourth day after her return the woman called the people of the village together; all came into the house.

The husband lay on a shelf or bed and watched his wife; he was jealous. Two nice-looking men came in; she chanced to look at them. Her husband was very angry. He didn't eat for five days and nights. The fifth day he took his son and started for home. At the gathering the woman had given a skin robe to each person, and meat to all. When the man started, these robes followed him, no matter where they were or what use they had been put to, and all the venison that had not been eaten rose up and left.

When the woman's father found that her husband had

gone, he questioned her. She said, "He left me because I looked at the two men who wished to buy me when I was a girl." The man, after getting home, lived many days and nights without eating; he was sorry for what he had done. At last he destroyed himself.

Since that time, if an Indian leaves his wife, he takes all he has given her people.

II. GUARDIAN-SPIRIT STORIES.¹

1. THE HUNTER WHO HAD AN ELK FOR A GUARDIAN SPIRIT.

There was a man at Dog River,² in days gone by, whose wife was with child. Pretty soon she gave birth to the child. While she was sick, he carried wood, and one day a piece of bark fell on his forehead and cut him. When the boy was large enough to shoot, he killed birds and squirrels; he was a good shot. One day the father said, "You don't do as I used to. I am ashamed to own you. When I was of your age, I used to catch young elks. One day when I caught a young one, the old one attacked me and made the scar you see on my forehead."

The boy had a visit from an elk; and the elk said, "If you will serve me and hear what I say, I will be your master and will help you in every necessity. You must not be proud. You must not kill too many of any kind of animal. I will be your guardian spirit."

The young man became a great hunter, knew where every animal was, — bear, elk, deer. He killed what he needed for himself, and no more. The old man, his father, said, "You are not doing enough. At your age I used to do more." The young man was grieved at his father's scolding. The elk, the young man's helper, was very angry at the old man. At last she caused the young man to kill five herds of elk. He killed all except

¹ The main point in the tales of this group is the more or less involuntary acquirement of supernatural power. No. 1 is at the same time a warning against the abuse of such power. The idea that moderation must be exercised in the use of magic comes out strongly also in several stories in Jones's *Fox Texts*, Vol. I of this series, pp. 183-193.

² Now generally known as Hood River, a southern tributary of the Columbia.

his own elk, though he tried to kill even her. This elk went to a lake and pretended to be dead; the young man went into the water to draw the elk out, but as soon as he touched it, both sank.

After touching bottom, the young man woke as from a sleep, and saw bears, deer, and elks without number, and they were all persons. Those that he had killed were there too, and they groaned. A voice called, "Draw him in." Each time the voice was heard, he was drawn nearer his master, the Elk, till he was at his side. Then the great Elk said, "Why did you go beyond what I commanded? Your father required more of you than he himself ever did. Do you see our people on both sides? These are they whom you have killed. You have inflicted many needless wounds on our people. Your father lied to you. He never saw my father, as he falsely told you, saying that my father had met him. He also said that my father gave him a scar. That is not true; he was carrying fire-wood when you were born, and a piece of bark fell on him and cut him. He has misled you. Now I shall leave you, and never be your guardian spirit again."

When the Elk had finished, a voice was heard saying five times, "Cast him out." The young man went home. The old man was talking, feeling well. The young man told his two wives to fix a bed for him. They did so. He lay there five days and nights, and then told his wives, "Heat water to wash me, also call my friends so that I may talk to them. Bring five elk-skins." All this was done. The people came together, and he told them, "My father was dissatisfied because, as he said, I did not do as he had done. What my father wanted grieved the guardian spirit which visited and aided me. My father deceived me. He said that he had been scarred

on the head by an elk while taking the young one away. He said that I was a disgrace to him. He wanted me to kill more than was needed. The spirit has left me, and I die."¹

2. THE BOY WHO WENT TO LIVE WITH THE SEALS.²

The Chinook people, who lived at the mouth of Columbia River, moved some distance to the east. At the end of the first day's journey they camped on the shore. One of the men had a little boy. After they had fixed the camp, he went with the boy to mend his canoe. After a while the boy disappeared. The father thought he had gone back to the camp. When he had finished the canoe, he went to the camp and asked his wife where the boy was. She had not seen him. They went to the river, tracked him to the water, and all said that he was drowned. Next morning the people moved on still farther up the river. The parents hunted everywhere for the child, but at last they too went; they could not find the child.

Two or three years after this another party went up the river. On an island in the river there were a great many seals, and among them a boy. Word was sent to the parents of the boy. People went out and watched for the seals to come to land, so that they might see the boy. They watched till the seals came up on the island, one by one, and soon the island was covered.

¹ The fact that the young man divulges his guardian spirit is itself indicative of approaching death, for only upon the death-bed was it customary to communicate this, the greatest secret of one's life.

² The visit of human beings to the land of the whales, seals, or other food-animals, and their return to the people of this earth, to whom they grant power to obtain a large food-supply, is a characteristic type of tale or myth among the Coos of Oregon (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXII, pp. 25-41). Compare also Swanton's *Haida Texts and Myths* (*Bulletin 29 of Bureau of American Ethnology*), pp. 7-14, for a similar tale of a visit to the salmon.

At last the boy came up out of the water and lay down by the seals. The people crept up, caught the boy, and took him to shore by force. He struggled to get away from them, and tried to return to the water. At first he refused to eat anything but raw salmon and other fish, and he would not talk; but by degrees he came to act like other human beings. Finally his parents got him back to his right mind, and he became very industrious. He carved bows and arrows and worked all the time.

As he grew up, he used to tell many stories of how he had lived down with the seals. He said that seals were just like people; they moved from place to place, camped at night, and would go as far as The Dalles. They moved around as the Indians did on land. The people had to watch him when he was in a canoe, for fear he would go back to the seals. The seals were always floating around when he was near. He always called them by name. His parents always covered his head when he was in a canoe. One day he threw the cover off, saw the seals, called them by name, said, "I am going," and jumped into the water. He came to the surface far out, and said to his father and mother, who were in the canoe, "I have a home down in the water. I will remain there hereafter."¹

3. A DESERTED BOY IS PROTECTED BY ITCH'XYAN'S DAUGHTER.²

There was a village opposite The Dalles, and in the village lived a boy who was very quarrelsome. He

¹ The implication doubtless is that he becomes a guardian spirit for seal-hunters. Compare the end of the tale in Boas's *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 166-174.

² Compare *Wishram tale*, pp. 139-145 of this volume (*The Deserted Boy*). Itch'xyan is the protector of fishermen and hunters of water-animals. Compare also Boas's *Chinook Texts*, p. 221.

whipped the other boys, killed one or two. At last the chief told the boys to take this bad one away to some distance, leave him, slip off, and come home; then they were all to move away. The bad boy had two grandmothers who had reared him. The boys took him off to the place agreed upon, then slipped off and left him. He staid till sundown, then began to shout to the boys that it was time to go home. The boys had left their voices there to answer for them, and they said, "No, it is not time yet." It was then almost dark.

The two grandmothers had left fire for him between two mussel-shells hid in the ashes, a deer-rib which the Indians used to make fish-hooks out of, and ten wild-potatoes. They did not want to go and leave him, but the people forced them to go. Now the boy discovered that he had been left, and he ran home as fast as he could, found the village gone, the place cleared off. He looked across to the other side of the river, and saw the whole village camped there. He felt very lonely, and every now and then began to cry. He searched around where his grandmothers had lived, and found the fire and rib.

In the morning a great many magpies came around. He set a trap and caught three of them. He skinned them and made a robe, which he spread over his breast at night. Next day he caught three more. He ate one potato a day as long as they lasted. Each day he caught three magpies. On the fourth day he had twelve skins, his blanket now came to his knees. He made a fish-line out of his trap-strings and went fishing. He threw his line out, and said to the river, "Give me all kinds of food." He fished five days, caught a fish each day. The people saw him from the other side.

All at once, on the fifth day, he jumped up and ran

back and forth from the bank to the water. Then he danced along the river and sang very loud. The words he sang were, "Now I'll make my magpie robe fly, now I'll make my magpie robe fly." They heard his words on the other side. They watched, and saw him draw something long and white out of the water. He threw it on his back and went to his camp. The bundle was made of different kinds of wood, and was full of roots, salmon, and all kinds of Indian food. Towards evening the people saw that he had a large fire and was eating.

That night he slept warm and well. After a time he felt something cold under his head, and then something cold between his feet. He woke up, and felt a person lying at his side. The person said, "Are you awake?" — "Yes." He raised up his robe, thinking that it was his robe. As he raised it, he found he had a blanket of mountain-sheep skin over him, the blanket of the chief's daughter. He looked, and found a woman at his side. He was in a house, and everything was beautiful with skin and carving around him.

Early next morning the people on the other side went out, and, looking across the river, saw that the boy had a nice house where their village had been. Itcli'x̄yan's daughter had come out of the water in the night, while he slept, made the house, and lain down by his side. Towards sunrise he and she arose. His people saw all this; and the chief called the people together and told them to go over and see the young woman, and say, "The chief of the village had a purpose in leaving you. He left you so that you might get this house. Now that you have the house, he will come back."

When the messengers came, they were astonished at what they saw. The house was much greater than they had expected. While Itcli'x̄yan's daughter was sleeping

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with the young man that one night, food was brought out of the river. "All right!" said the boy. "Let him come with his people, but he must come last." The next day the boy's two grandmothers came, then the whole village, and last of all the chief; but as he was crossing the river, the young man raised a storm and drowned him. The young man then became chief and fed all the people for years with the food which came out of the river for his wife.

Even now the Indians on Columbia River send their boys to fish after dark to get the spirit of Itclí'x̄yan. She lives in the water and helps people yet.

III. COYOTE STORIES.¹I. COYOTE DECEIVES EAGLE, AND STOCKS THE COLUMBIA WITH FISH.²

1. Eagle's grandfather was Coyote. Eagle was hunting most of the time in the mountains, and when he came home one day, Coyote said to him, "I have found something for you, — a nest of eagles on a rock. They have nice feathers for arrows."

Next day they went out to a rock, and Coyote said, "Take off your clothes." Eagle was handsomely dressed in beads, had long shells all over his leggings and robe. He took off his clothes and went up the rock. He pulled the feathers out, tied them in a bundle, put the bundle on his back, then looked down and saw that he was very high up; the rock had gone up nearly to the sky. Then

¹ In these myths Coyote appears in his dual capacity of culture-hero and unsuccessful trickster. With them are to be compared Chinook Texts, pp. 101-106, 110-112; Kathlamet Texts, pp. 45-49, 79-89, 148-154; Wishram, pp. 3-49, 49-51, 67-75, 95-99, 99-103, 105-107, 107-117, 123-127, 133-139, 145-147, 149-153, 161, of this volume. It will be seen that the mythological importance of Coyote increases as we ascend the Columbia and approach the Great Basin area, his place on the coast (Chinook and Quinault) being largely taken by Bluejay. A few of the incidents that in Wishram appear woven into a loosely jointed culture-hero composite are here found as separate myths or amalgamated with quite different elements; compare Wishram, pp. 3-7 and 41-43 of this volume, with the second part of this story and with Story 2, p. 267.

² Two absolutely distinct myths have here been welded into one. For the first part, compare Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon*, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, pp. 94-97 (Eagle and his grandfather Coyote respectively correspond to A'ishish and his father K'mukamitch of the Klamath myth); Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 21; Teit, *The Shuswap* (Publications of the Jesup Expedition, Vol. II, pp. 622, 737). This is distinctly a myth of the Plateau region, and presumably adapted by the Wasco to the Coyote and Eagle cycle. For the second part, compare Wishram, pp. 3-7 of this volume; Spinden, *Myths of the Nez Percé Indians* (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXI, pp. 15, 16).

he looked at the feathers on his back; they were not eagle-feathers at all, but coyote entrails.

Coyote had already put on Eagle's clothes, made himself look like Eagle, and gone home. He had Eagle's flute, and played on it. When he entered the house, he said, "I wonder why my grandfather does not come, I told him to come quickly." At bed-time Coyote lay between two of Eagle's wives, Mouse and Woodpecker. Next morning Coyote moved away to another place, said nothing more about his grandfather. Every day he moved his camp.

Eagle spent many days on the high rock, and grew thin. At last old Thunder came and split the rock; along the split came brush and sticks. By means of these Eagle came to the ground. Then he followed his grandfather. Two of the wives had not gone with Coyote. They knew he was not Eagle, but they followed on behind. One of these two wives cried all the time, "My husband, my husband!" Eagle found every day the ashes of a camp. One day he found the ashes warm, and said, "To-morrow I'll catch up with them." Next day he overtook the two wives, and they told him everything. He said, "Go to-night and camp with Coyote. I shall be there." He came. Old Coyote saw him, and began to cry, took off his clothes. Eagle said, "I don't want them now." Coyote said, "I have been crying all the time; I thought you were dead." Eagle said, "All right! Keep my clothes and keep my two wives." The old man was very glad. They lived together many days, and Eagle hunted.

One day he said to Coyote, "I killed two nice bucks; to-morrow I'll show you where they are." Next day they started, went down five gulches, and saw the bucks. The old man said, "I'll stay here to-night, to-morrow I'll cut

up the meat." He made a fire and lay down to sleep. It began to rain, rained all night. Next morning the old man woke up and found that his bucks were nothing but hanging bushes. He said, "I see, I did this. This is my fault. My grandson has paid me back." He did not feel badly, and started home. He passed the first gulch, full of deep roaring water; he swam way down to the next one — the water was still higher there; came to the third, the fourth; there always more water. The fifth he could not cross.

2. He was carried down to the great ocean. There he saw two women with a large canoe. They were very bright, shone more brightly than the sun; their paddles were of white wood, very beautiful. The women staid there, and kept the fish from leaving the sea and going into the river; they worked there every day. Coyote thought to himself, "How can I manage so that these women will take me into their canoe?" He turned himself into a piece of wood and floated down. The elder woman said, "Oh, that is very nice wood; catch it, catch it!" but the younger one said, "Don't touch it, don't touch it!" and they let it pass.

Now he turned himself into beautiful white wood, and floated along. The elder sister said, "Oh, catch that!" The younger one said, "No, no! let it pass." It passed. He turned into a different kind of wood. Every time the elder one wanted to catch it; but the younger one said, "No, let it pass." After the fourth time he turned himself into a little baby on a cradle-board. As it floated down, crying and rolling on the water, the elder sister said, "See that little boy! Catch it, catch it! Its father and mother must be dead; we must save the baby."

The younger sister had grown tired of talking. The elder sister took the baby and carried it to their house.

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They had all kinds of fish. The elder sister put an eel's tail in the baby's mouth for it to suck. They went for wood, and left the baby. While they were gone, Coyote cooked himself all kinds of fish, ate a great deal. When they came home, he was a baby again, sucking the eel's tail. Next day, while the sisters were gone, he made a long stick to dig roots. When they got home, he was a baby sucking the eel's tail.

Next day, when they went off, he went out to dig roots. He told his stick to be strong; but when he dug into the ground, it broke. The next day he made another stick, dug deeper. With the last stick he broke down the dam the sisters had made to keep the fish, and all the salmon crowded up Columbia River. Then Coyote took ashes and blew on the sisters,¹ saying, "Hereafter you will be birds. People will soon come who will want these salmon. You will be birds henceforth."

2. COYOTE IS SWALLOWED BY ITC!Í'XYAN.²

Over at Nixlu'idix, where the Wi'cxam village now stands, Coyote was going east up the river. He looked north at the hills, and saw five men running down towards him. They said, "Old man, don't you go up along the river; go by the hills. If you go along the river, you will be swallowed."

"Who will swallow me?"

"Itc!í'xyan."

"Oh, I'll run away; he can't swallow me. I run like the wind." Coyote went on. Finally he thought, "Perhaps there is such a thing that can swallow me." Then,

¹ For the throwing of ashes or dust in transformation, compare Wishram, p. 45 of this volume.

² Compare Wishram, pp. 41-43 of this volume.

thinking awhile, he said, "I'll go up on the hill and get a long log and put it across my shoulders; then Itcli'x̄yan won't be able to swallow me."

He got the log, came down, and travelled up the river. As he went, he called out, "Itcli'x̄yan, swallow me!" He plagued Itcli'x̄yan. At last Coyote lost consciousness; he did not know anything. When he revived, he found himself in a dark place. He wondered where he was; could it be that Itcli'x̄yan had swallowed him? He heard a sound as of a bell a little way off, and the voices of people whispering. He sat with the log on his back, and said, "People, make a fire, and I'll stay all night." He felt around, and found, as he thought, grass and pieces of wood, and said again, "Why don't you make a fire?" No one answered. What he took for grass was people's hair, the large pieces of wood their bodies, the smaller pieces of wood their bones, which had been there for years.

Coyote didn't yet know where he was. So he sat down, brought out his two sisters, the two Cayuse girls, as he called them, two pieces of his own excrement, and said, "My sisters, what is the matter? Where am I?" — "Oh, we won't tell you. You are such a man that if we tell you, you will say, 'Oh, yes! I knew that before, but forgot it for a moment.'" Coyote began to throw up spittle with his hand, and said, "Here, let rain come." — "Oh, don't, don't do that! we will tell you. You were warned by the five men not to go up along the river, but you would go; you wouldn't listen to advice. Now you are in the belly of Itcli'x̄yan."

"That's just what I thought," said Coyote. He put away his sisters where they were before.¹ Then he took

¹ Other instances of Coyote asking advice of his excrement sisters are to be found in *Wishram*, pp. 73-75, 101, 103, of this volume. Compare also Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 45-49; *Chinook Texts*, pp. 101-106. On the coast of British Columbia similar acts are told of the raven.

his fire-drill and made a fire, taking pitch from the log on his back. When there was light, he saw the remains of all the people, some with canoes, others without. He called to the fire all that were able to come to warm themselves. Eagle came, also Weasel, his younger brother.¹

Itcli'x̄yan now said, "Come out, Coyote, I didn't want to swallow you." — "How can I come out? There is no door," said Coyote. He looked up and saw something moving above his head, breathing, growing larger and smaller. This was Itcli'x̄yan's heart. "It is too high to reach," thought Coyote. He made a ladder of two canoes, went up, and with his flint knife cut at the root of the heart.

Itcli'x̄yan said, "Get out of me, Coyote! I didn't try to swallow you. I don't want you."

Coyote said, "I don't know how to get out." Then he told all the people to lock arms. When Itcli'x̄yan's heart was cut and dropped, he blew a tremendous breath, and threw all the people out near Celilo, but Coyote about six miles farther south over the Celilo hills.

Eagle went west, and Coyote east.

3. COYOTE IMITATES FISH-HAWK AND MOUNTAIN-SHEEP, AND MEETS WITH VARIOUS ADVENTURES.²

1. Coyote was hungry. He ran down the river where Fish-Hawk and his wife lived, and asked for something to eat. They gave him a good deal of food. He was not satisfied; then they gave him food five times, and at

¹ Eagle and Weasel are elder and younger brothers also in Wishram, pp. 117-121 of this volume.

² This again is a composite myth. The first part consists of two episodes of the wide-spread story of the unsuccessful imitation of the host; the second part is a string of four loosely connected Coyote anecdotes.

last asked, "When are you going home?" — "Oh, soon." Fish-Hawk said, "Come down to the creek with me." There was a tall stump by the water, and a hole in the ice. Fish-Hawk jumped on to the stump, and from that into the water. Coyote was terribly frightened, and ran around crying, "My grandson is drowned!" But soon Fish-Hawk came out with five different kinds of fish, and gave them to Coyote; he told him to carry them home. Coyote took them, and said to Fish-Hawk, "Come and visit me." — "Very well, I'll come some time."

One day Fish-Hawk remembered Coyote's invitation, and went to his house. Coyote was glad to see him, and said, "When you are ready to go home, let me know." Soon Fish-Hawk said, "Now I am going home." Coyote said, "Come down to the creek with me." Coyote climbed up on a stump near the place where he used to get water from under the ice. Fish-Hawk smiled and wondered. Coyote began to shout as Fish-Hawk had; then he jumped, hit his head on the ice, and was stunned. Fish-Hawk was sorry for him, and called his wife. She came, and said, "He will do anything that he sees others do. He told me that you jumped in and got fish for him." Now Fish-Hawk sprang on to the stump, dived down, and brought out fish. He gave them to the woman and went home. Coyote had not come to his senses yet. About evening he recovered; she helped him up. He was as angry as he could be.¹

A few days later Coyote got hungry, and went to visit Mountain-Sheep and his wife, who lived by the bluff. He met Mountain-Sheep, who said, "My wife is at home. I'll come soon." Coyote went into the house. The man

¹ With this episode compare Jones, *Fox Texts*, pp. 263-267. Kingfisher and the trickster *Wisa'ka* of the Fox myth closely correspond to the Wasco Fish-Hawk and Coyote. Compare also Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts* (Publications of the Jesup Expedition, Vol. X, p. 153).

soon came, and said, "I'll get you something to eat." He took his wife by the nose and stuck a straw into it; blood, fat, and meat streamed out. They cooked all that came out of her nose. Coyote ate it, and thought it very nice. When he had finished eating, he said, "I'm ready to go home. I want you to come and visit me." — "All right! I'll come." As Coyote started, Mountain-Sheep took his knife, cut pieces of meat off his wife's sides, and gave them to Coyote, who was very glad, and said, "Be sure and come to my house."

One day Mountain-Sheep went to visit Coyote. They had a good talk. Then Coyote thought he would cook something for Mountain-Sheep. He got his bucket, made a fire, then took hold of his wife and ran a straw up her nose. She sneezed, struggled, and ran away. Coyote went outside, as angry as he could be. Mountain-Sheep said, "I'm not hungry. I only came to visit." He took a knife and cut off meat from his own two sides, put it down by Coyote's wife, and went home. Coyote had gone off angry. When Coyote came home, he saw the meat and was glad.¹

2. Some time after this, Coyote got hungry, and determined to move out near the Deer people. The Deer people were glad to have him come. He got there in the evening, and they brought him food. He began to tell his adventures to them, and said, "Friends, I am alarmed; you and I are in danger. I see the tracks of the Wała'lap out here. These people always feather their arrows with the tail-feather of an eagle. We must be on the watch; I'm afraid they will kill some of us." Next morning Coyote slipped out, and lay hidden by the

¹ Compare the Wishram tale, pp. 145-147 of this volume, and Chinook Texts, p. 180, for a similar procuring of food from one's own nose and body. Mountain-Sheep is in these replaced by Deer and Black-Bear.

path where the deer went to hunt. When the largest one came along, he shot, killed him, and took his carcass home. In this way, as he needed meat, he killed the five brothers. The whole family consisted of five Deer.¹

He now decided to visit the Wolves. When he got to the Wolf house, they made him a servant to carry wood and water. He got very angry at this. A race was arranged. Coyote decided to go, so he made a couple of running dogs with horns on them. The Wolves ran on one side, and the dogs were with the party coming back; the dogs beat, won the race, and after that Coyote ran away from the Wolves.

After a time he came to an empty house; he went on. As he travelled, he heard a noise, looked back, and saw a rock as large as a house rolling after him. He wondered what this could mean. Soon the rock was almost on him. He ran with all his might, the rock came on all the faster. It hit Coyote and knocked him senseless. Towards daybreak of the next morning he came to his senses, and remembered that the rock had struck him. "I'll run away from it," said Coyote. He jumped up, stole off, and ran with all his might; but about noon he heard a great noise, and again the rock was pursuing him. Wherever he ran, the rock followed, gained on him continually. He did not know where to go. At last he came to a soft muddy bottom between hills, and thought, "I'll go there. Let it follow if it can." The rock rolled on, got stuck in the mud, and Coyote escaped.²

¹ Compare Kathlamet Texts, pp. 152-153; and Wishram, p. 160, note 2, of this volume. The Wasco wata'lap corresponds to the Wishram wala'lap, and Kathlamet wā'LaḵLaḵ.

² This rolling-rock episode is perhaps to be considered a variant of the rolling-skull myth. Compare Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 165; Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 262-265.

He went on towards the east, and came to a great pile of buffalo-bones. He thought, "Oh, I am so hungry! I'll take these bones and carry them till I camp, then gnaw them," but he decided not to take them. Soon he heard a noise, looked back, and saw a buffalo-cow behind him. She came up and said, "I'll give you meat. Those bones back there were my bones. You did not take them; I'll give you meat now." She cut off flesh all around her body, and gave it to him. He ate, was satisfied, and remained some time. At last he said, "I can't stay here, I must travel to the east." He started off, and still he travels.

IV. AT!AT!A'ĪA STORIES.¹

I. TWO CHILDREN ESCAPE FROM AN AT!AT!A'ĪA.

Two Ikinickwai² children went out to gather flint. A boy and his sister went every day for this purpose. They had each five good paddles, the sixth was full of holes its entire length. The little girl said, "Hurry and pick up the flints; the At!at!a'īa may come." And sure enough, she was right there. The moment the words were out of the girl's mouth, she looked behind, and there was the At!at!a'īa. The brother and sister ran with all their might. The boy had one of the flints in his hand; he held it tight.

The At!at!a'īa caught them, put them in her great basket, and tied the mouth of it with buckskin strings. She was all spotted and striped, a terribly ugly-looking creature, and very large. She lived on people, and was especially fond of eating children. She hurried along with the two children. The girl was larger than the boy; she sat on his foot in the basket. His foot was tender from the itch which he had had on it; she hurt him greatly, and he said, "Sister, you hurt my foot where I had the itch." The woman said, "What is the matter? My children are burning up, surely." The girl heard what she said, and felt that she could frighten her. She repeated

¹ These five myths show that the At!at!a'īa story, the story of the stupid, child-stealing ogress, who at the end has the tables turned on her, is a well-marked Upper Chinook type, similar in content to the familiar ogre fairy-tales of European folk-lore. The At!at!a'īa is characterized by her immense size, striped body, fondness for children's flesh, and stupidity; her own children she feeds on frogs, lizards, and such other food. Her Kathlamet correspondent is called Aq!asxē'nasxēna. Compare Kathlamet Texts, pp. 9-11; Wishram, pp. 35-39, 165-171, of this volume.

² Translated by Curtin as "a kind of fish."

the Atlatla'fia's words: "Your children are burning up, surely." The woman was terrified at this, and said, "Somebody tells me my children are burning up." She called over their names on her fingers. The fourth time the girl called out very loud, "Your children are burning up!" The woman put down the basket and ran towards home; but she came back, and hung the basket up on an oak tree, one of the trees near The Dalles on the Wi'cxam side. The two children were hung up, could not get out of the basket. The boy gave his sister the flint. She cut the strings of the cover, and they got out. They filled the basket with stones and dirt, and hung it up again; then they ran to the river.

The woman hurried home, found her children all safe, and said, "Oh, I thought you were burned to ashes! I have a nice pair of children out here," and she told how she had got them. Then she started to bring the brother and sister. She pulled down the basket; it was heavy. She put it on her back, went home, and took off the basket. All her children got around it. She unstrapped it. Behold! there was nothing but stones and dirt. She knew they had got out and run away. She put the basket on her back and started after them.

The boy now made five rivers, for he was very powerful. The old woman jumped over the first river; she went over so nicely that she said, "I must try that again." She jumped over the first river five times. When she came to the second, she leaped over that too; high in the air she jumped this river five times. She jumped the third river five times; the fourth river the same way, also the fifth.

She saw the children now about a mile ahead. She drew in her breath, and the children came in with it. They were almost in her jaws when she stopped, for she

had to blow out again. That sent the children off about as far as they were before. She drew in her breath; they were nearly at her mouth, but she could not draw in another bit. She had to blow them away.

They reached Columbia River, jumped into a canoe, and pushed it way out. They told the crawfish, the turtles, and all the fish in the water, to eat her, and the big rocks to roll on to her. When the old woman came to the river-bank, she drew in her breath, and the canoe came almost to her hand; then she had to blow out, and it went far out again. She tried many times to draw them in, but her breath was not long enough. Then she ran into the water and waded out part of the way. The fish began to eat her body all over, and the rocks came rolling down from the cliffs on to her. At last, barely alive, she waded out of the water, and the children escaped.

2. THE FIVE AT!AT!A'LIA SISTERS STEAL A BOY.¹

On the right side of Columbia River, fifteen miles below The Dalles, lived a woman who had a child. She had also five sisters-in-law who lived in another house. The woman sang every night. When the sisters-in-law heard the singing, they took the child, carried it home, and kept it till morning.

Now five At!at!a'lia sisters said, "If we pretend to be the sisters-in-law, we can get the child." These five sisters could not speak Wasco well. They had their own language, but nobody knows what it was. All tried, and at last the youngest could speak best. They heard the

¹ Compare Kathlamet Texts, pp. 9-19; Wishram, pp. 165-173 of this volume. The last part of the Kathlamet-Wishram myth, evidently a distinct story in origin, is closely related to a separate tale of Curtin's Wasco series (p. 303 of this volume).

mother singing. The youngest went to the door, and without showing her face called out, "I want the child." The child was given to her, and the five went off; they were hardly out of sight when the sisters-in-law came and said, "Give us the child." — "You have it already," was the answer. "No, we have not."

They struck a fire and looked at the tracks. They were the tracks of the five *Atlatla'fia* sisters. While running off, the four sisters tried to get the child from the youngest sister, but she held to it; they wanted to eat it as they ran. When they were home, the eldest sisters would often beg to eat the boy; but the youngest kept them off, and the boy grew up with her. The mother mourned long for her son.

He grew to be about twelve years old; he used to go hunting, and brought in rabbits, squirrels, and other game. The woman liked him more and more. The other sisters wanted to feed him on frogs and snakes, such as they gave their own children to eat and ate themselves, but she always gave him good food. They often begged of her to let them eat him, but she would say, "No, he brings food; you'll eat me first." At last they all called him son. He began to wonder why the other children were striped and spotted. An old man, Sandhill Crane, lived near the five sisters. He knew all about this, and it troubled him.

Once in a while the woman gave the boy snakes, and he ate them. One day the woman said, "You may hunt on every side except the north." Old Crane lived in the north not far away.

One day the boy determined to go north and see why they did not want him to go there. He came to a creek, and on the other side he saw a tall old man. The man called to him, "Come over here!" — "I can't," said the

boy, "I have no way to cross." The old man sat down and stretched his leg across the river. It was a wide stream. He said, "Now cross, but don't step on my knee. If you do, you will slip."

The boy went over, and old Crane told him that he did not belong to that people, but to one that lived far away. "Now you must escape," said the old man. "Make five creeks, and at the last creek make choke-cherry bushes, very thick and covered with berries. Go on a little farther and you will find hung on a tree the board on which you were when a baby, and your little blanket. Take them and go on."

That night he went back and told the sisters that he had found a creek and lots of berries. While the boy was on his way back to them that day, the eldest sister said, "I told you that that boy should be eaten. Now he has gone north." The youngest sister said nothing. At dusk the boy came in loaded with choke-cherries on the boughs, and told the sisters where he had found them.

Next morning they started; he remained at home. They crossed the five creeks, found the berries, and ate so many that they could hardly move. They began to spit blood. They looked in their baskets to see how many cherries they had gathered. The baskets were full of blood. They had put cherries on their blankets; they found only a mass of blood. Blood ran out of their mouths.

The boy made the sun very hot, and when they started to return home, all the streams dried up. They had to go up and down the deep sides of canyons. Four of the sisters died one after another. Only the youngest reached the house; she found the house burned and her boy gone. She put the blame on old Crane, and hurried to his house. She came to the bank and accused Crane:

After quarrelling a long time, she wanted to be reconciled, and asked him to ferry her over. "All right, if you are not afraid." (She intended to eat him and then follow the boy.) Crane said, "Step on my knee when you come over." She started, then drew back; she did this two or three times. Old Crane got very angry, threatened to take his leg away. Then she started, and in the middle of the stream she stepped on his knee. He turned his leg; she fell into the river and was drowned.

3. A JACK-RABBIT BOY TRICKS AN AT!AT!A'LIA.

A Jack-Rabbit boy once played below Wasco near a sand-bank. He played around in this way for four days. The fifth day he went off some distance from the house, playing and jumping. At last he ran against a woman all painted in stripes. She was a human being, and acted like one, but lived on people. She was three times as large as men are at the present day. When the boy ran against her, she reached out to catch him; but he ran away from her as fast as he could, ran towards home. She followed him.

When he came to a rock, he ran around it. On the rock was a mountain-sheep's horn. He ran into this horn, and she ran on. She ran around the rock, looked into the horn, saw the boy's eye, and thinking, "I'll get you," put in her hand, but couldn't reach him. Then she sat down with her back to the sun and waited. The sun was getting hot. She felt something on one side of her neck, and put her hand on the place; it was a wood-tick. She pulled it off. Then there was one on the other side. At last she felt ticks all over her body. She pulled off her buckskin robe; inside it was

a mass of wood-ticks. While pulling off the ticks, she would often look at the horn.

At last the boy put his hair up on top of his head, blackened his nose, and came to the opening of the sheep's horn. He looked at her and rushed back into the horn. She roared with laughter, and said, "Have I ever seen so ugly a boy!" and she rolled and laughed. Then she said to the boy, "If you could look worse than that, I should die."

He pulled his hair over his face; it came to his breast, and his great eyes were looking through the hair. He came to the opening of the horn again. She laughed harder than ever, took her dress, made a hole in it, and put it over the horn, so that if he came out, she could catch him. While she was laughing, he came out and ran away with her dress. The boy and dress were gone before she knew it.

The woman called loudly, but the boy would not stop. She shouted and screamed, "I'll let you off, if you will bring back my dress." The boy went on till he came to a lake. He made ice over the whole lake, then walked over. Soon the woman came in pursuit, he threw the dress away in the middle of the lake. She tried to cross, put her foot on the ice. It cracked. She stood on the other side and teased him to get her dress for her, made all sorts of promises. He said, "The ice is strong." He threw two great rocks on the ice; the rocks broke, — the ice was so hard. This convinced the woman. She crept onto it, went out into the lake, and got near her dress. The boy caused the ice to grow thin and break. She sank in the water and was drowned. This woman was a man-eater.

4. AN AT!AT!A'LIA HAS HER ARM PULLED OFF.

At Wasco there was a boy who cried all the time; nobody could quiet him. At last everybody got tired of him and went to bed, left him. He was near the fire. The others had gone up on the beds, and were trying to sleep. The boy cried away till at last he grew quiet; he saw an arm reaching out for him, all striped and painted. As it caught hold of him, he screamed with all his might, "Something has got me." The arm reached down through the smoke-hole to the ground. He struggled and struggled and screamed. At last he pulled the striped, painted arm off, threw it down by the fire, and said, "I've pulled off somebody's arm." They got up then and saw the arm. The old At!at!a'lia ran to tell her four sisters that she had lost her arm. Now all the people living around came to the house where the crying boy was, to see the arm.

Two or three mornings after that, Coyote said to the boy's parents, "Let us have a great dance." On the night of the dance the five At!at!a'lias came — one of them had lost an arm; — with the five were two little At!at!a'lias. Coyote hired Bat, Ground-Squirrel, and Gray-Squirrel to put dry grass around the house and smear it with pitch. When the house was ready, the five sisters came, but the two young ones would not go in. They came because they saw the people assembled. Coyote went out and invited them in; he urged them to dance first. They danced and sang. One sang, "Give me my arm."

Now Coyote told the little boy to run and get the arm. All the people slipped out. The boy brought the arm and put it on the woman. Then all five of the women got excited dancing, and did not notice that the people

had gone out. They were shut in tight. Then Coyote set fire to the house. As it blazed up, they still danced. The two Atlatla'fia girls outside screamed, "Oh, you are burning!" Coyote slapped their tongues with his hand and cut them off; they could not scream then. As the flames went higher and higher, the women danced. The house fell in, and they were burned up. The two girls went home.¹

5. THE ATLATLA'FIA WHO WAS DECEIVED BY
HER TWO SONS.

A Wasco man went to a dance. A Celilo woman followed him home, so they were married. One time, towards spring, the man and his four brothers killed many ducks, more than they could use. The man's mother said to the wife, "If you have any people, you had better take these ducks to them."

She packed a large number of ducks, and started off northward. She had two sons, whom she left with her mother-in-law. She travelled till she came to a lake. The ground around it was dry and cracked up; it looked like Indian bread made of roots. She thought, "I'll eat the ducks, and carry this dirt to my father and mother and give it to them for bread." She ate all the ducks, and carried a load of the dirt. When she reached home, she gave them the bread, and they ate it all. This woman was an Atlatla'fia.

She went back to her mother-in-law, and said, "My mother was very glad because of the ducks; she wants more." The hunters went out and killed more ducks. She went with another load; she did just as before. She

¹ The burning of the Atlatla'fia women by Coyote finds its nearest published analogy in *Wishram Texts*, pp. 35-39 of this volume.

started the third time with ducks; she did as before,—ate the ducks and carried dirt to her father and mother. She went the fourth time, and came home late in the evening. Early in the morning her husband arose. She was still sleeping. Her mouth was open; he looked in, and saw that her teeth were full of meat and feathers. He thought, “This is very strange,” and told his brother to follow her and see what she did.

He followed, saw her eat the ducks; if even a feather escaped, she ran after it and ate it. The boy came home and told what he had seen, but the husband said nothing. The next time she went she carried a larger load than ever. The husband said, “Follow her, brothers, and see what she does with the ducks.” All four brothers followed her. When she reached the lake, the boys went around to the opposite side and watched. Now the eldest brother called out, “Our sister-in-law is going to kill herself eating.” As he said this, the woman stopped eating and listened. Then she went on eating again. He called out in the same words, louder than before. She stopped and listened, but ate again. The fourth time he called she began to change form, turned into a grizzly bear, and ran after them. Soon she overtook the youngest and ate him up; then she caught the next in age and ate him. She ate the third; but the fourth got into the village, and told the people that his sister-in-law was running after him and was going to eat them all up.

Now the people of the village turned out and tried to kill the woman bear, but she ate them as fast as she could; nothing could kill her. At last she had eaten all the people except her husband; he turned himself into a decrepit old man. Finally she thought of her two children; they were already off some distance, running away from her. She left the old man and ran after them.

She was almost upon them, when the younger one said to the elder, "What shall we do?" — "We will make a village here to deceive her, and all the people will be dancing around a pole." They made the village. There were many frogs; these they turned into people, and the two boys were in the midst of the frogs dancing. When she came in sight, she said, "Yonder is Weditc, my elder son, and Wilu, my younger son." She was delighted to see such a crowd of people. She began to dance with them, danced a long time. When she came to her mind, she found herself in the middle of a swamp surrounded by frogs, up to her waist in mud and water. The boys had run far away.

She followed her sons a second time, and was nearly upon them, when the younger said, "It is time for us to do something." — "All right! We'll make a village, and make it appear to our mother that we are dancing." They did so. As she got near, she saw her two boys, joined in the crowd, and began dancing. Now this was at the swampy side of a lake, and the people were grass and frogs. They seemed to her real people dancing, the grass waved back and forth in the dance, the frogs sang. At last the deception ceased, and she found herself in the swamp up to her neck, with reeds and grass and frogs all around her.

She ran after the boys a third time, and was about to catch them. They made a village of people; two parties were gambling. She took part in the gambling. These were frogs; half sat on one log, a long line of frogs, and opposite was another log full of frogs, but they seemed to the woman like men. After a time she saw things as they were, and got out of the swamp. The fifth time she was about to catch her sons, when they made it appear that a crowd of people were playing ball on a

flat. At one end she saw her elder boy, and at the other her younger. The valley seemed full of men. She joined in the play herself. When the deception ceased, she saw that the leaves of the trees, carried along by the wind, were what seemed people to her.

The boys ran on, and met Coyote, who said, "My grandsons, why do you run so fast?" They said, "We are running away from our mother, who is an *Atlatla'ia*." Coyote said, "Run on up the hill. I'll meet her." He picked up a lot of mussel-shells, broke them into bits, and put them into his leggings, tying the leggings tight at the ankle and below the knee. Then he began to beat time with his leg, the shells making an excellent rattle. He saw her coming, and began singing and dancing towards her. She wondered what it was that rattled so about that man. He came along on the trail, came near going over her, pretended not to see her. She stepped off the trail, and asked, "What is the matter with you?" — "Oh, I've killed two children." — "You have killed two children?" repeated the woman. "Why, I have been following those children a long time." — "Well, I ate them long ago." He went on.

"Wait," she called, "and tell me what rattles so." He danced on, she followed, and insisted on knowing how he rattled. At last he said, "I met a man who told me that he broke his leg-bone on a great rock, and then it rattled, and still it had the same strength." — "Oh, fix mine as you did yours." — "No, you haven't strength enough; it would hurt, and you would run off." But she insisted, and at last Coyote took her to a rock, and, taking a great stone, was about to throw it on her leg, when she drew back and said, "Oh, I can't stand it!" He danced off again, saying, "I knew you couldn't stand it; only great men have endured it, great chiefs." She

begged him to come back again. He came back, she straightened out her leg. He took as heavy a rock as he could lift and broke her leg into pieces. Then he danced off. She tried to follow, but fell down. Coyote called to her, "You've got your rattles, haven't you? and now you are satisfied."¹ He turned her into a large rock on the north side of Columbia River. She leans up against a bluff, as she stood when he changed her.

¹ The rattling-ruse here employed by Coyote is paralleled in *Wishram Texts*, pp. 35-39 of this volume.

V. MISCELLANEOUS MYTHS.¹I. EAGLE DEFEATS FISH-HAWK, AND PITIES SKUNK.²

1. Fish-Hawk was a great hunter and fisherman. He used to make holes in the ice, dive down, and catch fish all winter. He was married to Coyote's daughter. Now Eagle came to The Dalles and got married. Coyote was proud of his son-in-law, and arranged for a race. He invited Eagle. Eagle said, "I don't know anything about running; but if Coyote wants me to run with his son-in-law, he must come to me." But Eagle began to practise. Every evening before daybreak he would go up the mountain and drive down a whole band of deer, and kill them all.

Coyote and his party came to invite Eagle. It was now given out that a man would try before any one ran, just to show himself. A man came out with a quiver on his back and a spotted robe on; he danced around a while, and then, in the presence of all, he disappeared. Every one looked around for him. Eagle said, "He is

¹ Under this head have been included such myths as make up the larger part of many American Indian mythologies, — stories of powerful animal heroes, and tales of supernatural adventures; they are difficult to classify satisfactorily. Nos. 1-3 deal with the deeds of Eagle, one of the favorite characters of Wishram and Wasco mythology (cf. p. 264 and *Wishram Texts*, pp. 75-93, 107-117, 117-121, 133-139). Nos. 4 and 5 tell of the defeat of the dreaded Grizzlies. Nos. 6-8 may be considered as forming a group of Sky Stories; they contain such well-known myth elements as the star husbands, the ascent to the sky on an arrow-chain, the origin of sun and moon. No. 9 seems to be in a class by itself; its complete understanding evidently requires a knowledge of the ceremonial side of Wasco life.

² Here again two evidently distinct myths have been connected into one. The first part, Eagle's successful contests with Fish-Hawk, is paralleled in *Wishram Texts*, pp. 133-139, especially p. 135, of this volume, where a foot-race takes place between Fish-Hawk and Jack-Rabbit, one of Eagle's men. The second part deals with Eagle's generous treatment of poor Skunk, who makes himself ridiculous in his attempt to imitate the dancing and hunting feats of Eagle.

there outside," and Eagle increased the heat of the sun on the spot where the man was, so that he burst immediately. It was a body-louse that had put on the form of a man, danced, then taken its natural form, and disappeared nobody knew whither, and no man was able to find out who he was till Eagle killed him with the heat of the sun. He had often been to dances and shown himself in this way, for a living.

Now Eagle and Fish-Hawk went out on the ground to run. The sun began to grow hot; they ran together to the place where they turned, and got halfway back. Then Eagle brought on a rain-storm, and it grew too muddy for Fish-Hawk; he got all wet, and Eagle ran away from him. Old Coyote had to bring his son-in-law home; he was almost dead.

About the middle of the winter, Coyote wanted Eagle to dive with Fish-Hawk. Eagle said, "I don't know anything about diving, but I'll try."¹ Coyote and his son-in-law came to the water. Coyote had five withes stuck under his belt, which he was going to give to Fish-Hawk. Eagle came bringing his five withes in his hand. Each had a place open in the ice; both went far up in the air, then dived down. Eagle struck the hole and went under the ice; but he had caused Fish-Hawk's place to fill with ice, so that Fish-Hawk struck his head and nearly killed himself. Coyote raised him up, and he was just coming to his senses when Eagle came from under the ice with five strings of salmon and other fish. Eagle went home and sang part of the night. The feathers he wore for ornament fell through the bed; he told his brothers to hunt for them, then he gave the feathers to them.

¹ This characteristic modesty of Eagle in laying no claim to great running or diving prowess, although he wins out in the sequel, is illustrated also in *Wishram Texts*, p. 81 of this volume, where Eagle claims to have no power in gambling, yet defeats his opponents.

2. Skunk was living in Eagle's village; he heard Eagle singing, heard his words. Next night Skunk sang, then said, "Brother-in-law, look and see what has fallen." The brother-in-law lighted a fire, found a bundle of fish-bones, and asked, "Are these your weapons?" and he threw them to his youngest brother. Eagle had heard what Skunk sang. As he was sitting outside next day, Skunk came along. Now Eagle was sorry for him, and, pulling out five of his tail-feathers, gave them to Skunk and said, "To-night you can sing and drop these." Skunk was happy. He went home, and at dark began to sing. Finally he said, "Brother-in-law, light the fire and look under the bed." One after another refused. At last they threw out the youngest brother; he lighted a fire and found the feathers. Then all began to fight for them; the eldest brother got them, and the youngest cried.

After this Eagle went hunting. He always brought the breast of the deer home, but threw the rest away. His wife rubbed his neck, — the load was so heavy. Now Skunk imitated Eagle; he killed a little fawn, ate the flesh, brought home the upper jaw, and made his wife rub his neck. He had heard that Eagle brought the breast, and he mistook the jaw for the breast. His wife opened the bundle and was disappointed; she didn't give him anything to eat, and would not let him sleep with her.

Next day Eagle met him, and said, "To-morrow go with me, and I'll drive deer to you." Eagle killed many deer, put the breasts aside, packed the carcasses up, and made the pack become small and very light; then he gave it to Skunk. When Skunk got home, he threw his bundle down outside, and asked his wife to rub his neck. She was very angry, and pushed him off. A voice from outside said, "The meat is being carried off." The old

woman sent the boys out to see. They said, "There is a great deal of fat meat here." Now she was very kind to her husband, but he drove her off. It took a long time to bring the meat in, — there was so much. His wife never refused again to rub his neck. The next time he saw Eagle, Eagle said, "You can always go hunting with me." Skunk was now better liked, and his wife always had meat to give away.

2. EAGLE HAS TOBACCO-MAN AND WILLOW WRESTLE
WITH ABU'MAT.

There was a young Abu'mat¹ girl at The Dalles who always carried rattles in her hands. She could throw everybody. It was agreed that whoever could throw her should have her. Coyote came and began to wrestle with her; she threw him in a flash. He tried time after time, and kept saying to her, "All the people say that Coyote ought to have you." As they wrestled, he would whisper, "Let me try again. Do now fall down. I'll not throw you hard; do fall." The woman wouldn't listen, but continued to throw him on his back every time. Coyote would jump up, run to the people, and say, "She says that after she has thrown you all, I shall be able to throw her. Make haste to wrestle with her."

The fifth day Eagle saw that the girl was throwing everybody. He didn't know what to do, he was afraid to wrestle with her himself. As he came down the creek, he saw a willow waving, swaying back and forth. He decided to pull up this willow, which had a long root. He pulled it out of the ground and caused it to be a man. Then he said, "I have made you a man to wrestle with that girl. Now I'll put you in the water for five

¹ Translated by Curtin as "a root;" the species is not known.

days and nights, and you will be a strong man." The sixth day Eagle went for the young man, drew him out of the water. The willow said, "I'll go to-day and try." Eagle said, "All right." They started off, and went along the side of a hill. Eagle said, "We ought to have more company." Thereupon he pulled out his pipe, scraped the inside of the bowl, and held it in his hand. He worked it till it got to be quite a long piece, then he put it down on the ground. Soon it rose up a man, and stood at his side. He called him Ika'inkainus.¹

The three walked along till they came to a nice sandy place, when Eagle said, "Let us see who is strongest." They wrestled a long time. At last Willow threw Ika'inkainus; he fell heavily to the ground and broke in pieces. Eagle asked, "Why did you throw your brother so hard?" Then he gathered up the pieces and rolled them between his hands, and again Ika'inkainus was a living man. They came to the wrestling-place, and found Coyote still wrestling with the girl, teasing her to fall. He saw Eagle and the two men coming, ran up to them, and said, "Come and wrestle." — "No," replied Eagle, "I have only come to look on."

At last he agreed to try his men. He told Ika'inkainus to try. He arose, took off his robe, stripped, and went on the ground. They locked arms and struggled. After a while she said, "You are making me sway." — "No, you are swaying yourself." At last the ground began to move, and the woman said, "I am afraid you will throw me." Then she hurled him in the air; he struck the ground, and broke in pieces. When the dust cleared up, nothing could be seen of him. Eagle picked up the bits, dust and all, put them in a bundle, took

¹ Translated by Curtin as "Tobacco-Man," but this can hardly be the literal meaning of the name.

them out of sight, worked them between his hands, and made them a living man again. He made this man to amuse the people. Willow began to wrestle with the girl. He twisted her around, and at last broke some of the outside roots of her body. She said, "You will throw me, and then you will be my husband." The fifth time he twisted her, he broke every root that she had. Coyote was very angry at this, and wanted to make war.

The woman rose up, and went away with Willow. Eagle went home. He said to Ika'inkainus, "You will remain here and become a great spirit for future people. Those who seek you will become medicine-men." Eagle took Willow, put him where he had found him, and turned him back into his old form. Then Eagle and the girl went to the mountains, and Coyote was not able to follow.

3. EAGLE, A KLAMATH MAN, GOES TO THE COLUMBIA RIVER TO GAMBLE.¹

Eagle was a Klamath man, and he came to Columbia River on a sporting expedition, to gamble. At first he won all the games. He gambled with Crab, Crow, Hawk, Raven, and many other people. Towards the end, luck turned against him. Crab was called on to take part in the game. After that Eagle lost everything that he had won and all that he had brought with him. He gambled off his buckskin dress, his moccasins, arrows, everything. Then he bet one arm, lost; lost the other arm; bet one leg, lost; bet the other leg, lost. He lost one whole side of his body, one eye, one ear, all of one half of himself. Then he played and lost the other half of his body. His life was now in the hands of those with whom

¹ Essentially the same myth is found in Boas, *Chinook Texts*, pp. 35-36.

he gambled. They cut off his head, and then his people at home just discovered where he was and what had become of him.

He had two sons and they looked for guardian spirits to get supernatural power to help them avenge their father. The younger brother received the strength of twenty-five grizzly bears, and the elder received the power of five double fires (five two abreast, ten in all). They started with these powers and hunted for their father's tracks. After five years they found them, and followed them to The Dalles. They stood on the hill overlooking the village, saw their father's head stuck on a pole. They saw a house at one end of the village. "We will go there," they said. They reached the house, where they found two old women. The young men asked, "Who is the chief of the village?" The old women said, "We must not tell you. If we mention his name, that moment he will sneeze and say, 'My name is mentioned in the old house at the end of the village,' and he will send to see who is here," but the brothers insisted. At last the old women told him, and that instant the chief sneezed and sent to the house. The first messenger came. In an instant his face was burned from the power of the elder brother. Five came; all were served in the same way. Then the chief sent and invited the young men to come and gamble with him. (And this is one of the sayings of the Indians now, from this story. If a person sneezes, he says, "Somebody is talking about me.")¹

They played and won back all their father's body, and brought him to life by putting the pieces together and stepping over them five times. The people now wanted to fight with them. They agreed. The brothers placed

¹ Compare Sapir, *Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XX, p. 40).

the five double fires on one side of the village, and the twenty-five grizzly bears on the other side. Not one person escaped; all were killed and burned to ashes. The father and sons went home. They scattered the grizzly bears over all the mountains. When they came home to Klamath, they lived happily and well.

4. PANTHER AND WILDCAT FIGHT WITH THE GRIZZLIES.¹

Panther and Wildcat lived together about two miles and a half below The Dalles, in Oregon. Wildcat staid at home, kept house all the time. When Wildcat grew large enough to hunt, he killed rabbits with bow and arrow not far from home. One summer Panther brought in a buck shin-bone, hung it up, and said to Wildcat, "No matter how hungry you may be, don't eat that shin-bone." — "All right," said Wildcat. Panther was out late one day hunting. Wildcat was lying down hungry at home, looked, and saw the shin-bone. He took it down, and, placing it across one stave, struck it with another. The bone broke, the marrow flew out and quenched the fire, and there was no more fire near.

Wildcat looked, and saw a fire on the other side of Columbia River, but could not find a boat. Then he swam across and found a house, went in, and found two old blind sisters, who had each five large fire-brands which they kept counting over and over. Wildcat took one of them. She found only four, and accused her sister of stealing. "Oh, no!" said the other. Wildcat put back the brand. She counted again, found the number to be right, and said, "O sister! I was mistaken. All is right." Wildcat laughed. Then he tried the sister on the left hand in the same way, with the same results. Wildcat

¹ Compare Kathlamet Texts, pp. 90-97, for a close cognate of this myth.

laughed to himself. He went out and got some cedar, and tied it up in bundles the same size as the fire-brands, set them afire, and substituted them. He took two fire-brands, and, going up the river to a large stone at the bank, tied them upright to his ears, so that they stood up like asses' ears, swam across, and took them home.

When two-thirds of the way across, the ears got hot; when almost there, he could hardly stand it; and when he had reached the bank, he hurled the brands away and washed his ears. Then he picked up the fire again, and went home and made a new fire. On the instant that he was starting the fire, Panther was drawing his arrow on a deer, the bow broke, and blood streamed. Panther knew at once that something was wrong at home; he thought Wildcat had been at work. He returned home and asked, "What have you been doing?" — "The fire went out." — "Where did you get it?" — "From the old women across the river." — "They will attack us now," said Panther. "Get our aksku'tcian."¹ Wildcat got it, and they sharpened it very sharp; they cut a tree with four blows, then three, then two, then one. Then, by showing it, a great cottonwood-tree fell. Panther now stripped, painted himself yellow, red, and black. Wildcat had the aksku'tcian. Panther had only his breech-clout, and was going to fight with his hands.

Presently they heard the cry, "Hoig, hoig, hoig!" The ground trembled, a great storm was rising, hail and rain then followed; this was the old Grizzly, who said, "Who has stolen our fire?" He called out five times, "Who is it that has stolen our fire?" And every time he cried

¹ This word is evidently the same, though different in gender, as the Wishram *ikcku'tcién* ("adze"); perhaps it is to be read as *aksklu'tsian*, the diminutive form of the word (see *Wishram Texts*, p. 162, line 13). In the Kathlamet myth, Lynx (*ipu'koa*, cognate with Wasco *ipkwa'* ("wildcat")) uses an instrument called *ē'qa-itk* (translated "adze").

out, the storm would come heavier and heavier. Now old Grizzly came to the house, smashed one end of it in, and Panther and Grizzly clinched. Panther said to Wildcat, "Brother, hit him with your weapon." Bear would say, "Here, what are you doing?" and Wildcat would get afraid and run up the smoke-hole. But Panther would say, "Come and strike him with your weapon;" and Wildcat would come down again and be about to strike, when the Bear would call out to him gruffly, and he would run away again frightened. At last Panther said, "Strike, my strength is giving out." Then Wildcat struck and cut off the hind-legs of the Bear; he died, and they threw him out and covered him up.

Now the second Grizzly came with a greater noise and a heavier storm. And wherever the hail would hit Wildcat when he came to the door to look out, it would cut right into him. That is the reason his head is all covered with black spots. The second came striking the ground, and pushed in the end of the house and roared the while. Now Wildcat was not frightened so much this time. When the Bear came in and he was called on, he would come down. Panther and Bear began to fight. Then Panther called on Wildcat, and he came and cut off the Bear's hind-legs and threw him out. Now the third came with rain, hail, and wind. (The three Bears were as white as snow.) The earth shook with the storm he brought. They had just got their house up again. When the third Bear came and nearly threw it over, only the part was left where Wildcat was. Panther wrestled with the third Bear, and was thrown and nearly killed. Then he called on Wildcat, "Come, brother, I'm nearly gone." Wildcat cut off the Bear's hind-legs and killed him.

The fourth Bear came with the like noise of thunder and with lightning, and the wind blew so that it carried

great rocks with it. Panther was thrown four times now, and Wildcat waited and watched to be called on. At last Panther screamed out, "Come down, I'm nearly killed." Wildcat jumped down quickly, but the Bear roared out so terribly that it scared him, and he went back again. He came down three times. Each time the Bear would turn on him and throw up dust and roar so, that he ran back. At last he got down and cut off Bear's hind-legs, and the Bear died.

Now the fifth Bear came. The earth trembled as he came with thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, and he threw the house to the ground. Now the Bear began to fight with Panther, fought terribly. At last they went up into the air, fighting out of sight, and great pieces of flesh would fall, piece after piece. Panther was white, Bear rather dark. Now Wildcat built a fire and burned the flesh of Bear, but saved that of Panther. About sundown Wildcat saw them coming down little by little, still clinched in a death struggle, nothing but bones with the heart of each one hanging on to him. All the flesh and intestines were gone. Now as they came to the ground, Bear was at the bottom; and Wildcat burned Bear's body and heart, and put Panther in the water.¹

Now five days and nights passed, and Wildcat was very lonesome. On the sixth morning Panther called out, "Brother, are you awake?" Wildcat sprang up quickly — he was so glad that Panther was alive again. He built a fire without delay, and cooked for Panther. When he had eaten, Panther moved the house and took the dead bodies of the five Bears, threw them across the river, and turned them into great rocks. These rocks are there to

¹ For a similar fight up in the air between Eagle and Buzzard, who hold on to each other until each is nothing but a mass of bones, compare Wishram Texts, pp. 89-93 of this volume; Panther and Owl, (Boas, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 138-141).

this day. The fifth was burned. (These rocks are called the great bears and the wolves. On each of these four rocks there is a hollow top. In early days the Indians would send their children to sleep on these, one night on each rock, till they had slept on all the four, in order that they might receive strength from the spirit of the rocks.)

After Panther had done this, he said, "We must separate here and take our second form. What help will you be to people?" Wildcat said, "I shall live near the river; and if any young man will obey me, I will make him a great hunter." Panther said, "I'll go to the Cascade Range; and if any young man will obey my word, I shall make him a great warrior and a great hunter."

5. OLD MAN GRIZZLY-BEAR DECEIVES THE FIVE BROTHERS.¹

In Ła'daxat² lived five brothers who were known far and near. One evening about dark they heard the voice of an old man, who asked, "Have the young men of this village gone to bed? If they have not, I'll tell them something which has happened to-day." The young men answered, "We are all awake." — "A great bear came on our island to-day," said the old man, "and I want you all to come and hunt that bear to-morrow." All the young men were willing.

Next day they went out. The chief of the village stood on the very spot on the island where the bear had first been seen. He had all his feathers on, had his

¹ This myth corresponds fairly well to Kathlamet Texts, pp. 58-66, where a monster disguised as an elk takes the place of the grizzly bear of the Wasco myth.

² Ła'daxat was a winter village of the Wishrams, situated on the Washington side of the Columbia about ten miles below The Dalles, a short distance above Memaloose Island, an Indian burial-ground. Many suckers were caught at Ła'daxa in the winter.

shield and his quiver full of arrows; he looked very well. The evening before, the old man had given them arrow-points, had told the chief to use them and give them to his men. He did so. The people saw the bear, and drove it towards the chief, who was the eldest of the five brothers. He shot at the bear, but the arrow did not penetrate, and the bear devoured the chief. All the people went home, left the bear on the island.

The brothers sweated five days and nights, for that was the custom if a relative died. Then they were ready for another attack on the bear. The fifth night the voice of the old man cried out and asked, "Are the young men ready to hunt the great bear again? A still whiter one has been seen on the island to-day. Have they arrow-points enough?" Now this voice was the voice of the great bear himself, who was deceiving the people, and the first arrow-points were the points of fern-leaves that looked like arrow-points; the great bear made them look so. The old man brought another bundle of arrow-points. He was very old, and as he gave them he cried. These second points were made of the leaves of the wild grape, and had been turned into points by the bear. The people were mourning more and more. All kinds of birds came and received arrow-points, and were helping the brothers. All shot at the bear. The second brother stood on the trail, the others drove up the bear. He shot; the bear fell and pretended to be dead. As the brother went towards him, he sprang up and swallowed him.

They sweated five days for the second brother. Then the old man's voice was heard. It was low, and seemed to be drowned in tears, it trembled with sorrow, and at last, choked with tears, he cried so loud that the whole village heard him. He brought a great bundle of arrow-points to the three chiefs, poured them down and wept.

This time the points were made of dried grape-leaves. The people were rejoiced to get them, they seemed so beautiful and sharp.

They went out the third day. The third chief was killed, though all the birds of the air came to assist him, and all shot at the bear. The chief shot at him, he fell over. The chief went up and pushed him with his bow; the bear sprang up and devoured him. Again they sweated for five days and nights. The voice of the old man was heard on the fifth night; it seemed weaker and sadder. Another bear had been seen. The old man brought another bundle of arrow-points, and he cried all the time. They were long sharp, and beautiful, they were made of willow-leaves turned yellow. The fourth brother was killed as the third had been. Only the youngest was left.

He sweated five days and nights. He was going around mourning for his brothers, when he came upon the leg-bone of a meadow-lark. He couldn't step over it or crawl under it, finally he slipped on it and broke it.¹ Then Meadow-Lark appeared to him, and told him that the bears did not come to the island, that it was their home, that the arrow-points were nothing but leaves, and that the old man who brought them was himself one of the bears. "Go to your grandfathers way over on that mountain," — she pointed southward, — "they will give you arrow-points there that are real points. And when you go to fight, put a stump on the place where your brothers were killed. Put feathers on it as on a man, then stand on it, and when the bear rushes up, shoot him."

The young man went to the mountain, and from the rattlesnakes received their teeth made into arrow-points.

¹ For advice given by a bone or stick which refuses to let a person pass and is finally broken, cf. *Wishram Texts*, p. 169 of this volume.

He came home and gave them to his men. Now the old man called out again, and asked if they had arrow-points. They said, "We have none." He brought a bundle and gave them to them; they were made of cottonwood-leaves. The old man cried bitterly as he gave them. As soon as he left, the young man threw them into the fire, and they burned up. Sure enough, they were nothing but leaves.

Next day all went out, drove the bear as before. All the birds screamed and whooped and shot at the bear. This time he felt every arrow, for the points were made of the teeth of rattlesnakes. His nose and eyes puffed up, and he went into the water and lay down. He drank much water; a fish with long sharp fins behind his head came there and was swallowed, and he cut through the bear's stomach. The bear came out of the water, and again the birds shot at him, and each said, "I've hit him, I've hit him." Razor-Snake said, "I am doing the best I can under his feet." Frog said, "I have done best. I jumped on his foot and frightened him." At this moment the young chief, the fifth brother, shot and killed him.

All the people came together around the dead bear, the chief at the head. He said, "Give five whoops!" They did so and then skinned the bear. The white part of the skin the chief took, and also the front claws. Then the people took the meat and went home. A small bird, the smallest of all, found a drop of the bear's blood on a leaf; he took that for his share. The chief said, "Take a shoulder to the old man Grizzly Bear." There were five of these bear brothers. Bluejay said, "I'll take it." He threw it over his shoulder and went to the house of the five brothers. They were crying. Bluejay pushed the door open and said, "Here, old man, take this," and he threw the shoulder in. They said, "Oh, our house smokes terribly. We can scarcely see."

6. FIVE STARS VISIT THE EARTH.¹

One night, after going to bed, five girls were looking up at five stars. The eldest said, "I should like to have that star for a husband," picking out the largest. "I should like to have that one," said the second, pointing out a smaller one. "And I that one," said a third, till the youngest said, "I should like to have that one," pointing to the smallest one; it was so small as to be scarcely visible. These same five stars had visited the girls the night before, but they did not know it. As they talked, the youngest said, "Mine is the prettiest, it is so dim and small." The girls fell asleep, talking of the stars.

That night all five stars came down. This was when the stars were people and could go anywhere. In the morning the stars arose and left the girls. The one who looked smallest was in reality the largest and heaviest of them all. When his brothers arose and left, he could not go — he had become so weary with coming and going night after night. In the morning, when the girls woke up, they found the old gray-headed man lying by the youngest girl. When she saw the old man by her side, she jumped up and ran away; she did not want such an old man for a husband.

When the people found out, because of the old man's being left behind, that the stars were coming down and staying nights with the girls, the stars said, "We shall never go to the earth any more;" and the old man said,

¹ Compare Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. IX, p. 90). The Wasco myth, as here given, is evidently a mere fragment of a fuller myth that filtered in from the east. It is known from the Pacific coast from southern Vancouver Island (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 62) and southern Alaska (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'a'ut*, *Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, Vol. X, p. 39).

"It shall be this way with the people to come. Whenever an old man marries a young girl, she will not like him, and will run away." And so it has been ever since.

Now the old star man turned himself into a bright, white, flint rock, very large, thick, and round; and the place where he lay was by the river, a great gathering-place for all tribes who lived near. Every one knew this star. Once, when the tribe that lived around the place of the star were camping away in the summer, their enemies came and threw the stone into the river. The people who lived around the star were on the right bank of Columbia River. When they returned and found the star rock destroyed, they crossed the river and almost destroyed the Wasco cup. It was once very deep and large; now the cup is small.¹ After this star was lost, the tribe that possessed it lost the name of Star tribe, and became very common people.

7. THE ASCENT TO THE SKY AND RETURN TO EARTH.²

There was once a boy who was told by his mother never to shoot high up in the air. But this made him wish to shoot up, and at last he did shoot. His arrow stuck in the sky; then, in trying to shoot it down, he hit that arrow in the end, shot again and hit the second in the end, and so he kept shooting till his last arrow was near the ground. He stood and thought a while, then climbed up on the arrows, and went the other side of the sky. He looked around and saw tracks everywhere and a nice road. "I'll follow this road," thought he, and went on.

¹ For the Wasco cup see note on p. 240.

² Compare Kathlamet Texts, pp. 11-19; Wishram Texts, pp. 171-173 of this volume. The first part of the Kathlamet-Wishram myth is given by Curtin as a separate myth (see pp. 276-279).

At last he saw a crowd of persons rolling along. He called out to them and asked, "What are you doing there, where are you going?" — "We are going into the heads of Indians down below." These people were Nits, all old white-headed people. He went farther, saw a great crowd of people coming, and asked, "Where are you going?" — "Oh, we are going below to eat the blood of people." These were Body-Lice. Soon after he met a crowd of red people, and asked, "Where are you going?" — "Below, to eat the blood of people." These were Flea people. "What are you carrying on your backs?" — "Oh, those are our humps." Soon another crowd appeared, each with a pack. He asked, "Where are you going?" — "Down below." — "What have you got in your bundles? I am hungry." — "We have nothing to eat." — "Well, open your bundles; let me see." One put down his bundle; the boy opened it. That moment everything was filled with darkness; the boy begged them to tie up the bundle. They did so, and there was light again. These were Ground-Squirrel people, and there was a vast number of them. They said to the boy, "The people below have nothing but light now. When we get there, one of us will open his bundle, and while it lasts it will be dark. Then light will come; and when we are tired of light, another of us will open his bundle, and there will be darkness." They passed on.

Soon he saw a man coming with an arrow through his body. As he passed the boy, he fell dead. Straightway another man came along with his hair tied up on his head; he had a bow and arrows in a quiver on his back. "Have you passed a man," asked he, "with an arrow through his body?" — "Yes," answered the boy, "and he fell a short distance behind you." — "You are

my son-in-law," said the man. "Go on, you will come to my house. When you do, go in." The boy went on his way, saw a mountain-sheep with an arrow through it. It just passed and fell dead. Soon a man came up with an arrow and asked, "Did you see a sheep?" — "Yes, it fell a little way from here." The man said, "You are my son-in-law." The boy did not answer; he did not know what to say. The man said, "As you travel this road, you will see a great many feathers and much paint. Keep on, you'll come to my house."

After a time the boy came to a house. It shone very brightly, but near by was a black house, black smoke coming out of it. He opened the door of the bright house and went in. Everything shone in the house. They cooked huckleberry-roots and other food for him. He saw a young woman sitting there, and his heart failed him, — she was so beautiful. Now the people from the black house came over and tried to steal him; they surrounded the place, but they could not get in, and he would not go outside. At last the people hid him in the house. This was Sun's house; the girl was the First-Blush-of-Morning, and she was bright and beautiful. The boy had her for his wife. The man who was following the mountain-sheep was old Sun himself; he was on a journey. The first person, who was after the man who was shot through, was Death. His people lived in the black house and tried to get the boy.

After a time First-Blush-of-Morning bore two children which were fastened together, boys. The young man said to his wife, "We will go to the river and wash our heads." After they had washed their heads, she sat down, and he put his head in her lap. As he lay there, he scratched on the ground and made a little hole. Through this hole he looked down to the world below, and saw

his sister mourning, going from the spring to the house. Bluejay ran up to her and said, "I am your brother, I've come to life." He would run against her and almost push her over, for she was nearly blind from mourning. All the people of the place were mourning. The men were coming home with bundles of bones; they had been everywhere hunting for his bones, and had collected many of all kinds. The young man cried at what he saw. Then he rose up and went home with his wife. He lay on the bed five days and nights. They did not know what the trouble was.

Old Sun asked his daughter if she had abused him. She said, "No." Then he said, "He must have seen his old home below. Let us take him back." Sun's wife told her daughter to get some of old woman Spider's cords to make a basket. She got the rope and a basket. They told him they were getting ready to send him home. His boys were already well grown. They brought him food of all kinds, all kinds of berries that are picked on trees above, all kinds of vegetables that the ground above produced; at that time there was no fruit or vegetables here below. When all was ready, they went to the hole that the young man had made by pulling up grass by the roots and scratching the ground. They lowered the basket through the hole with the father, boys, and mother in it. Old woman Spider came, and they spliced the rope whenever it was giving out. They lowered it gradually till it came to the ground on a hill half a mile above the Wasco spring. (To this day the place can be seen where the basket came down. There is a hollow or basin in the hill.)

The man got out of the basket and ran to the house just as his sister started for the spring. Bluejay came up, snatched her bucket, and said, "I'm your broth-

er." The man now came to her. He took hold of her hand and said, "I have come. Tell our father and mother to clean out the house five times and burn sweet stuff five times. Then we shall come." His sister said, "Our mother is blind." He went to the house, drew one of his own hairs across her eyes, and immediately she could see as well as ever. They cleaned the house five times, and the fifth day the brother came with his wife and two boys. They had a feast and gave many presents.

The boys were running around. Now Bluejay had his tomahawk ready to cut the boys in two, for he knew they were the grandchildren of Sun; he thought that it would be well to spread them out, not to have both in one place. All were astonished to see two children, so fastened together, run and step as one and shoot as one. Crowds of people came from every place to see them. The fifth day the boys ran outside, Bluejay was ready. He hit the boys and made two of them; this killed both of the boys. The woman saw this, ran, caught her boys, and said, "I'll go back to my father Sun and take both of my boys with me, one on each side. Every time there is war in any place, I'll show myself with my sons on each side of me. When there is no war, I'll appear without my sons." The woman had given the relatives of her husband, who were Ants and Yellow-Jackets, many gifts, — robes, skins and ornaments, fruit and vegetables. All these disappeared when the woman went away. The people tied them around their waists with strong strings; but they pulled away, almost cut the people in two. This is why those people have such small waists now. The woman became the sun in heaven, and her sons are the shadows sometimes seen. There was no sun on earth before this.

8. TWO BROTHERS BECOME SUN AND MOON.¹

A woman and her two children lived below The Dalles. An old man lived some distance from them. One night the elder boy, who was about four years old, began to cry. The mother brought him everything there was in the house, but still he cried. At last she concluded to send him to the old man, whom she called grandfather. She said to the boy, "He will tell you stories; go to him." The boy jumped up and ran off to the old man's house. The old man asked, "What do you want?" — "I want you to tell me stories." The boy lay down by the old man, and he said, "Once there was a spring, and water flowed from it, and grass grew around it, tawna, tawna."² — "Oh," said the child, "that is very short." — "No, that's a good story. It's long enough." The boy was angry and ran home. His mother said, "He must have told you a short story." — "He only said there was a spring, and water ran from it, and grass grew around it; then he said 'tawna, tawna,' right away." The woman was provoked because the old man did not tell the boy a long story and keep him quiet. She went over and scolded him. He said, "I thought that was enough to quiet him, and that that was all that was wanted."

The boy cried again. She sent him again, and the old man told the same kind of a story. The woman

¹ There are no published Chinookan cognates of this myth. That it is not Chinookan in origin is further made probable by the fact that Sun and Moon are here male characters, whereas the Wasco words for "sun" and "moon" are both feminine in gender. Contrast *Wishram Texts*, p. 47 of this volume, where Sun is a female character. The tale evidently belongs to the group of myths accounting for the animals or people who become substitutes for the sun which does not behave properly. See, for instances, Boas, *Sagen der Kootenay* (*Verh. Berliner Ges. für Anthr.*, 1891, p. 164); *Eine Sonnensage der Tsimschian* (*ibid.*, 1908, p. 776).

² "Tawna, tawna," is evidently a customary conventional ending, to show that the story is finished. Cf. *k'anik'ani'* (*Wishram Texts*, p. 130, line 28) and *k'onē'-k'onē* (*Chinook Texts*, p. 110, line 9).

scolded him for not telling longer stories. This happened five times. Then the woman was very angry with the old man, and determined to move away, and she moved off to some distance.

This woman's younger boy talked like an old man when not more than a year old. He would tell about many things which had been and would be. He had a very large stomach. When the elder boy punched it with his hand, it sounded strangely, something like a bell. The elder boy was stupid, did nothing but cry and laugh.

One morning the mother told him to take the little boy out and play with him on the sand. He snatched the child by the hair and dragged him out and around on the ground; he could not walk yet.

The father of the younger boy was Spider. The woman had left the father before the child was born, but the boy was constantly talking about his father. He would say, "My father is following us; he has gone up on a rock, and is looking for our fire; he has crossed the river." This made the woman very angry; she would shake the child, but right away again he would be talking about his father. He seemed to see him and to know all he was doing.

The elder boy dragged his little brother around all day in the sand and dirt, nearly killed him. Next morning when the child woke up, he said, "My father is going to kill himself because he cannot find us, he will heat rocks under a tree, then he will climb the tree and fall on to the rocks." — "Oali, oali," the child would sing, and so he went on day and night. He would rouse his mother in the night and say, "People over there are doing so and so," and he would sing, "Oali, oali;" he would roll over against his brother, and the brother would kick him

back, but the child did not cry; he seldom cried. Again he would say, "I see a man hugging a woman over there." He looked everywhere, and saw everything that was going on in the world, and kept telling what he saw night and day. His mother and brother did not like him.

One day the mother told the elder brother to take the younger one out doors and step on his stomach, saying, "Then all of that big stomach will go off, and he will be like you." The boy took the child out, put him on his back, and stamped on his stomach. Immediately snakes, frogs, lizards, and everything of the reptile kind, came out of the boy and ran off. Then he got up and went into the house with his brother, and stopped singing, "Oali, oali;" he never sang it again.

The mother told the boys to make bows and arrows, saying, "I'll give you five quivers, and you can fill them. I'll trim robes for you with shells, then I'll tell you what to do." The boys made the arrows. She trimmed them beautiful robes, then said, "I want to send you to kill Sun." In those days Sun never moved out of his tracks, always stood directly overhead, and no living being could go far and live — so great was the heat.

The mother said, "When you kill Sun, you can stay up there. One of you can be Sun, the other Moon." The boys were delighted. They started off and travelled south. When they got a little east of where Primeville now is, they wrestled with each other. Spider boy got thrown, and at that spot a great many camas-roots came up. At every village to which they came, they told the people where they were going; and all were glad, for all were tired of Sun and his terrible heat. Finally the boys turned and travelled east, till they were nearly overcome by the heat.

At last they came to a place from which, looking to

the left, they could see a great ball of shining fire; they looked to the right, and there was a second ball of shining fire. They had gone up in the air, and had come to Moon's house; it was on the left side of Sun's house, not far away. Old Moon and his daughter lived there. Moon's daughter was very lame. She waited on the boys, brought them fruit of all kinds, huckleberries, and other things. The boys were amused as they saw her walk.

Moon's house was full of light, bright and dazzling. The boys ate, and then went out and came as near Sun's house as they could. It was so bright and hot that they couldn't get very near. They took their arrows and began to shoot at old Sun, who sat in his house. With their last arrow they killed the old man. Immediately there was no more strong light. They pulled out their arrows and said, "We cannot both be Sun, we must kill Moon." They killed Moon. Then they argued as to which should be Sun. The elder said, "I will. I am older than you are. You can be Moon and take his daughter." The younger brother agreed to this.

Now the people below were very anxious to know where the two boys were who had travelled to the east. As the heat grew less and less, they said, "It must be that the boys have done as they said." The mother knew that they had been able to accomplish all they wished for. Now they went through the sky, and Moon followed Sun.

9. A SINGING AND DANCING FESTIVAL.¹

Five brothers lived at the foot of Mount Hood on its south side. The eldest said, "Let us sing, brothers, and

¹ This dance-festival myth corresponds, in a general way, to Wishram Texts, pp. 95-99 of this volume. The dance referred to is perhaps to be compared with the Nez Percé Guardian-Spirit dance recently described by Spinden (see *The Nez Percé Indians*, *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. II, pp. 262-264).

enlarge our house." They sang till they had a very large house with five fireplaces in it. Now they got Black-Fox to carry the news of their singing festival¹ to different villages, far and near. The eldest brother said, "Bring fir-bark." (They used to burn bark. They put a large log of wood on the fire, and put bark on top, and the wood was called "husband of the bark.") Now five Panther brothers, five Wolf brothers, five Wildcat brothers, and five Fox brothers came. The Panther brothers were taken to where the eldest brother had his bed, the other people were at the different fireplaces. There was one Elk to each fireplace; the eldest Elk had the first fireplace, and the youngest the fifth.

At midnight the eldest Elk began to sing, then he arose, came to the fire, and said to the eldest Panther, "Get on my back." Now all the people were singing. Panther got on his back. Elk stepped astride of the fire, it blazed up on each side of him. The fire burned terribly, but Panther thought he could endure it if Elk could. Elk sang five songs and stopped five times before he stepped out of the fire. Then he said to Panther, "You have a strong heart. You are hereafter my brother, and are worthy to be a great hunter."

The second Elk sang, took one of the Wolf brothers, and stood over the fire. Both were burned, but he sang five songs and stopped five times. Then he said, "You are my brother, and worthy to be a warrior." The third Elk sang and took the eldest Wolf on his back. He endured the fire; and Elk said, "You are a brave man, and shall be a great hunter." Elk was trying them to let them know what hardships they had to go through to be great hunters. The fourth Elk took Marten on

¹ Compare *Wishram Texts*, p. 17 of this volume, for the idea of deer or elks as singers *par excellence* among the animals.

his back, told him the same. The fifth Elk took Black-Fox. Black-Fox was burning, he twisted and squirmed, but he held on.

Morning came; they ate and then slept during the day. The second night they sang, and the eldest Elk put the second Panther on his back; each Elk put the second brother on his back, but they said nothing to them about being great hunters, for the eldest brothers had stood the test. The third night they took the third brother, and the fourth night the fourth brother. The Elk was burned almost black now.¹

The fifth night Coyote came in; he was dressed very nicely in buckskin trimmed with porcupine-quills, his hair was hanging down below his knees. He opened the door and entered. Black-Fox took him by the hand and led him to the fire; he was going up to the eldest brother's fire. Fox whispered to him and said, "When they sing, don't you get on their backs. You see how we are burned; and don't you sing." Along in the evening the eldest Elk said, "A stranger is in our house to-night, and we expect him to sing; that is the rule of old times." Coyote was afraid, but he said, "All right." Coyote went away from the fire, took a club, began to beat time and sing; and he used words, for he passed himself off for a Nez Percé. He sang, "I come, I come all the way."² He walked up and down the house several times, and at last said, "Whom shall I carry on my back?" The eldest Elk said, "Well, brother, carry me," and he put his arms around Coyote's neck. Elk's legs hung down, and he tried to pull Coyote over the fire; but Coyote said, "I don't dance over the fire as you people do." Still Elk pulled him

¹ The idea of an increase in heat with the advance of the song is found also in Wishram Texts, pp. 129-131 of this volume.

² See Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs American Anthropological Association, Vol. II, p. 263).

towards it. Coyote kept saying, "The custom of my country is not to dance over the fire." At last he stopped singing and sat down, saying, "It is the custom of old for the one who is carried to sing after the carrier stops singing."

Elk began to sing and wanted to carry Coyote; he could not refuse. He threw off his robe and got on Elk's back. This was the fifth and last night. Elk sang three times away from the fire. It blazed high and burned Coyote, who said, "This is not the way our fathers danced;" but Elk paid no heed, and Coyote was burned up.

Next morning the sun rose, and the eldest Elk talked a long time to the people, told them what they would do for the people to come. Coyote lay outside dead. After all had gone away, Coyote came to life and wondered how he came outside. He thought that perhaps they had made such a noise, that he came outside to sleep. Then he looked at the blisters on his hands, and remembered how he had died.

Editorial Note

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Philip Kahclamat (Yanukwaikt Qallamak) (1900-1959), Wishram consultant who worked with Edward Sapir at Yale in 1933. (Photograph by Dell Hymes).

The Discourse Patterning of a Wishram Text: “Coyote Frees the Fish”

Dell Hymes

The texts of many American Indian languages have been found in recent years to be patterned in terms of lines and groups of lines. The Chinookan dialects, including Wishram, are among these. The first text of Sapir's collection is shown in terms of lines and groups of lines here to show that this is the case, and to show the importance of working with all the Wishram texts to discover as much as possible about the use to which such patterning was put by their narrator, Louis Simpson.

We do not know what intonation contours Mr. Simpson used in telling these stories, or where he paused. To know such things might make a difference to the patterning one finds in the stories, and certainly would help to bring the stories alive. Yet the words and phrases themselves show so much parallelism and selective repetition that we can still discover an organization which makes the stories more readable and more meaningful.

Wishram is one of a series of western American Indian languages in which five is a significant number for patterning. Along with five goes grouping in terms of three. We see five in this story in the number of digging sticks Coyote makes, and the number he uses; in the number of main actions when the younger sister gives the supposed child eels (she gives, he sucks, she gives, he sucks, he falls asleep); in the number of scenes in the story over all (he gets them to take him home; he discovers their hoard and prepares; he releases the fish; the older remonstrates to the younger; he pronounces what will be and why it is right). We see three in this story frequently in sequences of action, often with an object of perception as the third element: they untie it, examine it, it is a male child (30-2); he rises, he sees them, far off they go (49-51). The story begins with three pairs (perhaps as a mode of intensification), each pair with a local outcome in its second line, marked initially by a particle (1-2; 3-4; 5-6), and with the third pair the outcome of the incident as a whole.

A sequence of five units often is found to be a merging of two sequences of three. The third unit serves as a pivot, concluding an initial sequence of three, and beginning a final sequence of three. Thus in 7-20 the third verse (f) indicates an outcome for Coyote's effort in making himself a boy and drifting in the river (verses d, e), while it initiates the response of the women: they see him (f), they explain him to themselves (g), the younger (decisively, as it turns out), expresses her intention to take him (h). The older woman's remonstrance to the younger (scene iv) consists of five elements: you said, I thought, See (I was right), I told you, See. The third and the fifth, both introduced by the particle translated here as 'See' (cognate with a root *-kst* 'to look, see'), both sum up the

grounds of remonstrance. The third verse gives the grounds as an outcome to the first set of three, and as initiation of the topic of the second set of three. Notice how the second and third sections of Coyote's speech to the two women show similar parallelism in their third and fifth elements (132, 135; 141, 145).

Such patterning is never mechanical. A story teller has more than one option in mapping the sequence of incident into the patterning of groups of lines, and sometimes may make use of an alternative principle for the sake of intensity, or some other effect. This story begins with the incident of Coyote's unsuccessful effort to be taken up as a piece of wood, put into three verses (1-2, 3-4, 5-6), each with an initial particle as marker ('then', 'in vain', 'now then'). But, remarkably for Mr. Simpson, the initial particle is not in the first line of a verse, but the second (2, 4, 6), and the incident proceeds, not in terms of one, three, or five lines, but in terms of pairs of lines, marked clearly by the particles.

Turns of talk are always relevant units in such patterning. So are occurrences of certain initial particles, *kwapt* 'then', *aga* 'now', *wit'a* 'again', and especially the combinations 'now then' and 'now again'. Indeed, their recurrence is so much a part of the structure that it must be shown in the English translation, by always translating them, and by always translating them the same. The particles *kínwa* 'in vain', *náwit* 'straightway', and *šmánix* 'whenever' also may mark verses.

There is still much to be learned about such patterning, both in general and in Wishram and the rest of Chinookan. Enough is known to show what it is like here, and we know that all of Mr. Simpson's stories show patterning of this kind. I have published full-scale analyses of (I, 1.9) "The Story Concerning Coyote" and (I, 1.13) "The Deserted Boy" (Hymes 1981); (I, 6) "Coyote Makes a Fish-Trap" (Hymes 1980); and (I, 14) "Coyote and Deer" (Hymes 1985). When all the stories have been analyzed and compared, we will be able to have more confidence that the form we find in a particular story is as true as possible to the original telling. We will be able to appreciate more fully what is specific to these texts, and gain a better understanding of the universal principles from which their patterning emerges.

Notes on Format

The lines are given numbers (1-145) for reference. The line numbers make it possible to say precisely where something occurs.

Roman numerals in italics indicate the major acts, or scenes, of the story. Headings are supplied to indicate their focus and unity. Lower case letters in parentheses ((a), (b), (c), etc.) indicate groups of lines that constitute a verse.

Capital letters in parentheses ((A), (B), (C), etc.) indicate groups of verses that constitute a stanza.

Glottalized consonants, written with exclamation marks in Sapir's transcription, are here indicated with an apostrophe.

Coyote Frees the Fish

- 1 Isk'u'leye icqagi'lak gatca'wiqlaxit itcta'natch.
 2 kxwópt galicglu'ya,
 3 tk'a'munak ickté'lgwiptck wimaña'mt.
 4 Ke'nua ik'a'munak gali'xôx.
 5 Gayuxu'ni.
 6 Aga kxwó'pt na'qxi gacgigE'lga.
 7 Ge'e'ltéptck,
 8 gali'kta ya'xiba ca'xaliḡ,
 9 ik'a'ckac gali'xôx.
 10 Gasí'xelutk,
 11 gayaxa'limaḡ,
 12 wi't'a gayuxu'ni.
 13 Gacke'gElkel
 14 yuxu'nit
 15 yuqxE'lqt.
 16 Gacxlu'xwa-it:
 17 "Itkxwa'-ididE'lḡam;
 18 Itxni't da'uḡEX ilk'a'ckac."
 19 Naxlu'xwa-it axk'E'skax:
 20 "AntklE'lga'ya."
 21 Aga kxwó'pt axgó'qunk na'qxi tq'êx gakló'x ilk'a'ckac.
 22 Aga kxwó'pt luxu'nit.
 23 Axgó'qunk naxlu'xwa-it:
 24 "Isk'u'leye ya'xtau."
 25 Wa'au axk'E'sgax gaklE'lgax,
 26 gaklakxa'-ima ilk'a'ckac akní'mba.
 27 Gacx^uk'wa'x tctôqlia'mt;
 28 luqxwí'lqt;
 29 gaḡksu'klam.
 30 Gaḡkeu'x dakda'k,
 31 i'wi i'wi gaḡkeu'x.
 32 Qucti'axa ika'la ik'a'ckac.
 33 Axk'E'skax gala'kim:
 34 "It'u'kti ik'a'ckac ika'la bam' itk'a'munak."
 35 Aga kxwó'pt galu'ya,
 36 lq'ô'p gagi'ux iga'kwal,
 37 ciê'lict gagi'lukemit iak^uçxa'tpa.

Coyote Frees the Fish

i. [*Coyote gets himself taken out of the river by two women*]

- | | | |
|--------|---|----|
| (A)(a) | Coyote learned about two women's hoard of fish. | 1 |
| | Then he went to them | 2 |
| (b) | They gathered driftwood from the river — | 3 |
| | In vain he made himself into a piece of wood. | 4 |
| (c) | He drifted. | 5 |
| | Now then they did not take it. | 6 |
| (B)(d) | He hurried ashore, | 7 |
| | he ran far off upriver, | 8 |
| | he made himself into a boy. | 9 |
| (e) | He put himself down (in a cradleboard), | 10 |
| | he threw himself into the river, | 11 |
| | again he drifted. | 12 |
| (f) | The two saw him — | 13 |
| | he drifts, | 14 |
| | he wails; | 15 |
| (g) | The two thought: | 16 |
| | "People capsized, | 17 |
| | This child drifts toward us." | 18 |
| (h) | Thought the younger: | 19 |
| | "We shall get hold of it." | 20 |
| (C)(i) | Now then the older did not want the child. | 21 |
| (j) | Now then it drifts. | 22 |
| (k) | The older thought: | 23 |
| | "That's Coyote" — | 24 |
| | Nevertheless the younger took hold of it, | 25 |
| | she put the child in the canoe. | 26 |
| (D)(l) | The two went back to their house; | 27 |
| | it wails; | 28 |
| | they brought it home. | 29 |
| (m) | They untied it, | 30 |
| | they examined it: | 31 |
| | indeed, a male child. | 32 |
| (n) | The younger said: | 33 |
| | "A boy is better than wood." | 34 |
| (E)(o) | Now then she went, | 35 |
| | she cut an eel, | 36 |
| | she put its tail in his mouth. | 37 |

- 38 Na'wit kwôpt gatecu'tukc,
 39 sa'qu sa'qu gatecu'lxum.
 40 K'u'na gagi'lut,
 41 wi't'a gatecu'tukc
 42 cit'i'xka.
 43 Kxwôpt gayugo'ptit,
 44 cikxa'-imat ci't'ix yak^uçax'tpa.
- 45 Gackim:
 46 "Iogo'ptit;
 47 ag' atxu'ya itk'u'na tk'a'munak."
 48 Aga kxwô'pt gactu'ya ya'xi.
 49 GalixlE'tck,
 50 gatecu'ket
 51 ya'xi ctu'it.
 52 Aga kxwô'pt dakda'k gali'xôx.
 53 Aga kxwô'pt gatcu'gwiga tcta'xlEM.
 54 Kxwôpt galixi'lqtck uxwaq'e-'walal.
 55 GatKE'kst
 56 agagalixlxlE'mtck.
 57 Gatecugwe·gE'lxitcta'xlEM
 58 wiła'laba uxwaq'e-'walal.
 59 Aga kxwô'pt i'wi i'wi gatci'uxix.
 60 Ts'Eks gatcixlu'xix.
 61 "Dab' a'ntcuqxida'midaba.
 62 Aga kxwô'pt atgia yaga'ilpa wi'mal."
 63 GWE'Nema ilga'bun gatclu'x,
 64 iga'benac E'negi gatclu'x.
 65 Aga kxwô'pt gatclxi'ma kwô'ba.
 66 Wi't'a galix^uk'wa'x itctôqlia'mt.
 67 Wi't'a da'ukwa gasi'xlutk.
 68 Wi't'a kwô'ba galikxa'-ima iga'k'wal ciê'lict.
 69 Wi't'a gayugo'ptit.
 70 Aga gactu'yamx.
 71 "Ya'qxwiu ik'a'ckac,"
 72 gacki'mx.
 73 "palala'i it'ukti ik'a'ckac,
 74 Iage-'wam."
 75 Aga kxwô'pt galô'qwe·.

| | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|----|
| (p) | Straightway then he sucked it, | 38 |
| | he ate up every bit of it. | 39 |
| (q) | She gave him another. | 40 |
| (r) | Again he sucked it, | 41 |
| | only half. | 42 |
| (s) | Then he fell asleep, | 43 |
| | half lying in his mouth. | 44 |

ii. [*Coyote discovers their fish and prepares*]

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| (F)(t) | The two said: | 45 |
| | “He is asleep. | 46 |
| | Now let us go for some more wood.” | 47 |
| (u) | Now then the two went far off. | 48 |
| (v) | He arose, | 49 |
| | he saw them, | 50 |
| | far off they go. | 51 |
| (G)(w) | Now then he made himself loose. | 52 |
| (x) | Now then he got hold of their food. | 53 |
| (y) | Then he roasted the fish on a spit, | 54 |
| | they were done, | 55 |
| | now he ate. | 56 |
| (H)(z) | He would catch sight of their food, | 57 |
| | the fish in a lake. | 58 |
| (aa) | Now then he examined it carefully, | 59 |
| | he discovered an easy spot. | 60 |
| (bb) | “Here I shall make the fish break out. | 61 |
| | Now then they will go to the great river.” | 62 |
| (I)(cc) | He made five digging sticks, | 63 |
| | he made them of young oak, | 64 |
| | now then he put them down there. | 65 |
| (dd) | Again he went back to their house. | 66 |
| (ee) | Again he put himself down just as before. | 67 |
| (ff) | Again there the eel’s tail lay. | 68 |
| (gg) | Again he fell asleep. | 69 |
| (J)(hh) | Now the two would arrive. | 70 |
| (ii) | “The boy is sleeping,” | 71 |
| | they would say. | 72 |
| | “The boy is very good, | 73 |
| | A great sleeper.” | 74 |
| (jj) | Now then they went to bed. | 75 |

- 76 Gayutcu'ktix,
 77 ya'qxwiu ik'a'ckac.
 78 Wi't'a gactu'ya tk'amunak.
 79 Wit'a gatccge'lkEl
 80 ya'xi ctu'it.
 81 Ağa kxwô'pt nixElga'-ulx.
 82 Ağa kxwô'pt tcta'lxlem gatcu'gwigax.
 83 Ağa kxwô'pt galixi'lqtck,
 84 sa·qu galixi'lxumx.
 85 Ağa kxwô'pt na'wit gayu'ix liaga'bENba,
 86 gayu'yam iliêga'bENba.
 87 Ağa kxwô'pt gatcige'lga yaga'bEN.
 88 Ağa kxwô'pt gatcilga'mit wí'lexba yaga'bEN;
 89 gatcí'xga,
 90 dagwa·t wí'lex galí'xôx,
 91 L'a'k galí'xôx yaga'bEN.
 92 Wi't'ai'xt gatcige'lga,
 93 gatcilga'midix wi't'ax.
 94 Ağa kxwô'pt gu't gatci'uxix wílx;
 95 daL'a'kL'a'k galí'xôx yaga'bEN.
 96 Wi't'a í'xt gatcige'lga yaga'bEN.
 97 Wi't'a gatcilga'mitxix;
 98 dagwa·t gatci'ux wílx,
 99 daL'akL'a'k galí'xôx yaga'bEN ilalu'n.
 100 Gatcige'lga ilala'kt;
 101 wi't'a L'ak galí'xôx yaga'bEN.
 102 A'ga gatcige'lga ilagwe'nema,
 103 gatcilga'mitxix;
 104 dagwa·t gatci'uxix wílx.
 105 Ağa kxwô'pt gadigusgwa'-ix uxôq'e·walal yaga'iliamt wi'mal.

- 106 Ağa kxwô'pt naxlu'xwa-it axo'qxunk;
 107 gagu'lxam:
 108 "Nimxatxu'lal,
 109 'it'u'kti ilk'a'ckac;
 110 nä· ninxilü'xwan,
 111 'Isk'u'leye ya'xtau.'
 112 A'kcta yak'a'mela-ix itcí'txôx txa'ika Isk'u'leye da'uya wi'gwa.
 113 Niamtxu'lal,
 114 'na'qxe· atklgElga·ya ilk'a'ckac.

| | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| (K)(kk) | It became daylight. | 76 |
| | The boy is sleeping. | 77 |
| (ll) | Again they went for wood. | 78 |
| (mm) | Again he saw them, | 79 |
| | far off they go. | 80 |
| (L)(nn) | Now then he got up. | 81 |
| (oo) | Now then he got hold of their food. | 82 |
| (pp) | Now then he roasted it on a spit, | 83 |
| | he ate it all up. | 84 |
| (M)(qq) | Now then straightway he went to his digging sticks, | 85 |
| | he arrived at his digging sticks. | 86 |
| (N)(rr) | Now then he took hold of a digging stick. | 87 |
| (ss) | Now then he stuck his digging stick in the ground, | 88 |
| | he pulled it out: | 89 |
| | the earth became all loosened up, | 90 |
| | his digging stick broke. | 91 |
| (tt) | Again he took hold of one. | 92 |
| (uu) | He stuck it in again. | 93 |
| (vv) | Now then he loosened the earth, | 94 |
| | his digging stick broke in pieces. | 95 |
| (ww) | Again he took hold of a digging stick. | 96 |
| (xx) | Again he stuck it in, | 97 |
| | he loosened the earth all up, | 98 |
| | his third digging stick broke in pieces. | 99 |
| (yy) | He took hold of a fourth, | 100 |
| | again his digging stick broke. | 101 |
| (zz) | Now he took hold of his fifth, | 102 |
| | he stuck it in the ground, | 103 |
| | he loosened the earth all up. | 104 |
| (O)(aaa) | Now then the fish slid over it into the great river. | 105 |

iv. [*Remonstrance*]

| | | |
|----------|---|-----|
| (P)(bbb) | Now then the elder thought, | 106 |
| | she told her companion: | 107 |
| | “You were saying, | 108 |
| | ‘The child is good.’ | 109 |
| | I myself was thinking, | 110 |
| | ‘That is Coyote.’ | 111 |
| | See, Coyote has done badly to the two of us this day. | 112 |
| | I was telling you, | 113 |
| | ‘We shall not take the child, | 114 |

- 115 isk'u'leye ya'xtau.'
 116 A.'keta itxa'giutkwôx itxô'x,
 117 itci'txôx isk'u'leye."
- 118 Aga gactu'ya tctô'qliamt.
 119 Aga ya'xt'aḡ galieglu'ya tctôqlia'mt.
 120 Gateccu'lḡam:
 121 "Aga lḡa pu qxa.'ma mte uxôq`ç.'walal nu'gw ômtktu'xwa?
 122 emtθts'î'nôn.
 123 Ag' ayamdulxa'ma mda'ika.
 124 A.'ḡa q'oa'p atgadi'mama ide'lḡam da'uyaba wî'lḡ.
 125 emtxe'luitcatk."
 126 Aga ide'lḡam qxawitci'melit
 127 "Du'lululu."
- 128 "Aga atgadi'mama da'uyaba wî'lḡ;
 129 daxda'uaite itḡa'lxlem ide'lḡam.
 130 Cma'nix aqiu'xwa ixq'e.'walal
 131 kḡwô'pt pu amtθdi'mama mda'ika.
 132 Imda'xleu igi'xôx isk'wô'latsintsîn mda'ika.
 133 Aga da'uya wi'ḡwa ita'mtkuḡk.
 134 Qe.'dau yamdu'pquna,
 135 'sk'wô'latsintsîn.'
 136 Cmanix atgadi'mama ide'lḡam
 137 atkigelḡa.'ya ixq'e.'walal.
 138 Aga kḡwô'pt amtθdi'mama mda'ika,
 139 aqemdupquna.'ya,
 140 'isk'wô'latsintsîn icdi'mam;
 141 gateccu'pḡena isk'u'leye.'
 142 Qe.'dau pu alugwagi'ma ide'lḡam.
 143 'Da'uctax gatetexcke'm isk'u'leye iteta'natek;
 144 aga cda'xdax icdi'mam.'"
- 145 Qe.'dau aḡ' atccu'pḡena isk'u'leye.

- 14: 'he drifts' (*yuxúnit*) is supplied from the field notebook.
- 19, 23: The order of noun and verb is reversed as between the two lines to match the reversal in the original text.
- 38, 39: The notebook has *ga-tc-i-u-tukc* and *ga-tc-i-u-txum* for 'he sucked it' and 'he ate it'. Literally, remote past *ga-* + 'he' *tc-* + 'it' *i-* + directional element *u-* + stem. The reference of *i-* would be to *i-gakwal* 'eel' as the object. If for some reason the dual object prefix *-c-* was found preferable, after the transcription had been made, its reference still would seem more likely to be to *c-ia-lict* 'tail' than to the alternative form of 'eel', *ic-gakwal* (cf. note 1 to page 4 in the original publication). *i-gakwal* 'eel' and *c-ia-lict* 'tail' both occur in the immediately preceding lines.
- 44, 75: Each of the first two scenes ends on the image of Coyote, as a little boy, sleeping with half an eel's tail sticking out of his mouth. The third scene, toward which these two build, of course will end quite differently.
- 121: The word *nug^w* is annotated in the second field notebook as an 'antiquated phrase whose meaning cannot be satisfactorily analyzed by the Indians themselves'. In 1951 I recorded it from Remi Sidwalter, a Wasco at Warm Springs, together with David French. Recently Mrs. Viola Kalama, who lived at the home of the Wishram on the Columbia as a girl, explained it as applying when someone takes care of and raises children left them by a relative, and, generally, 'to take care of, nurture, be responsible for'.
- 124-7: That is, the Indian people, who must find the land ready for their way of life. Beings such as the two women can no longer live normally in the land as persons, but only in their creaturely aspect. Their personal aspect may continue to be encountered on vision quests and in other manifestations of power, and of course may be brought into the midst of the community in winter with the reenactment of myth.
- 134: The root *-pgna* refers to the conferring of a name and also to the pronouncement of sentence or marriage. It is a 'declarative', uttered by someone with authority to bring about the change pronounced. In English 'to name' or 'to call' do not capture its force, since it entails not only name but identity. 'Proclaim' seems stronger here than 'pronounce'.

Wishram Ethnography

PREFACE

The Wishram were one of the earliest groups known to explorers of the Columbia River basin, and their trading establishment at the Dalles was of great importance to the development of the Northwest; yet it is curious that we remain to this day in ignorance of their mode of life. Even the many travellers and traders of the early nineteenth century who left accounts made no adequate mention of a tribe whose mere presence on the middle Columbia seriously circumscribed their own actions. Perhaps the reason is that the truculence of the Wishram, and their resentment of the efforts of white traders to compete by establishing trading posts on the Columbia, prevented any sojourn among them.

Only a few Wishram still remain. Some still occupy their original home at Spedis, Washington, opposite The Dalles, especially during the fishing season. Others are on the Yakima reservation in central Washington, to which they were induced to move about 1860-5. Our information was obtained at the latter place.

The purpose of Sapir's visit in 1905 was primarily linguistic; ethnographic information was somewhat of an aside. Expenses of the investigation were borne chiefly by the Bureau of American Ethnology, with some assistance from Mr. George G. Heye and the American Museum of Natural History. The University of Pennsylvania Museum also provided the services of Miss M. W. Bonsall as draughtsman. The linguistic material, and some of the ethnographic, was published in part as a "Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook" (1907), "Wishram Texts" (1909), and in Franz Boas' grammatical sketch of Chinook (1911).

The ethnographic investigations of Spier in 1924 and 1925 were financed by the University of Washington. In the former year assistance was had under a grant as Fellow in the Biological Sciences, National Research Council.

Our data partly overlap but are largely supplementary. It was thought advisable to combine these groups of limited material. It must be understood, however, that this sketch is woefully incomplete. This is due in part to the loss of native culture among the few survivors, to unwillingness on the part of some of our informants, but primarily to the brevity of our visits. New data on the Wasco, Cascades, and other Upper Chinook are included here. Undoubtedly much can still be gotten from the Wishram remnant and other Upper Chinook still on the Columbia.

We are indebted to the American Museum of Natural History and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) for supplying illustrations of specimens. Mr. William H. Holmes has also provided an illustration of a canoe carving. Dr. Erna Gunther furnished Wasco kinship terms, and Dr. W. D. Strong and Mr. W. Egbert Schenck other information.

Sapir's informants were principally Pete McGuff and Louis Simpson. McGuff, a half-blood, furnished much additional material during the years 1905-1908 by correspondence in answer to specific questions. His information may have been influenced by a long residence in early years among the Cascade Indians. Spier's informants were Mrs. Mabel Teio, an elderly Wishram, and Frank Gunyer, a middle aged Wasco, who also acted as interpreter. Mrs. Teio was not disposed to volunteer information.

The phonetic system for native words has been explained in Sapir's "Wishram Texts" (p. xiv). Spier's renderings are much less satisfactory; no attempt has been made to reduce them to Sapir's orthography.

LESLIE SPIER
EDWARD SAPIR

May, 1929.

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WISHRAM ETHNOGRAPHY

LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP AND TERRITORY

The Wishram are a small tribe originally occupying the north bank of the Columbia River about the Dalles,¹ that is, at the upper end of the passage of the Columbia through the Cascade Range. These Indians, most of whom are now on the Yakima Reservation, Washington, called themselves *ila'xluit*, the first person singular of which (*i'tcxluit*, "I am an *Ila'xluit*") is in all probability the "Echeloot" of Lewis and Clark. They are known by their Yakima and Klickitat neighbors (tribes of the Sahaptin stock) as *Wu'cxam*, which, in its anglicized form of Wishram, or Wishham, is their common appellation today.

Together with the allied Wasco, occupying the opposite bank of the Columbia, they were the easternmost Chinookan tribe on the river. Their tongue, the Upper Chinook dialect, "was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas, which are spoken on the lower course of the Columbia River and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram, which were spoken in the region of The Dalles." Boas gives Kathlamet as the westernmost Upper Chinook tribe, living from Gray's Harbor and Astoria up to Kalama. "Linguistically Clackamas seems to be very close to Kathlamet, if not identical with it."² *Kikct* is a term used by these Indians to embrace the various probably mutually intelligible dialects of Upper Chinook: Wishram, Wasco, White Salmon, Hood River, Cascades, Clackamas, and Kathlamet.³

Wishram belongs to the uppermost dialectic subdivision. "The language spoken by them is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of the Wasco on the other side of the river and of the White Salmon and Hood (or Dog) River Indians farther down the stream. More prominent dialectic differences appear when we get as far down as the Cascades; the dialect of this locality may be considered transitional between the Wishram and the Clackamas of the Willamette region."⁴

It is exceedingly difficult at this late date to determine the linguistic and tribal groupings of the Wishram and their neighbors. Dislocation of the tribes in this quarter began at the end of the eighteenth century, even before the coming of the earliest white explorers, and a series of terrible epidemics early in the following century decimated the population. Add to this that our notes are confused, due to our lack of detailed knowledge of the river territory, neither

¹ Attention should be drawn to the distinction between The Dalles, the present town of that name on the Columbia, and the Dalles or Five Mile Rapids, several miles above that town. We have tried consistently to differentiate these, but in our notes and other sources they are often confused. The latter is also the Long Narrows of Lewis and Clark.

² Boas, *Chinook*, 563; *Kathlamet Texts*, 6; Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 234.

³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 192.

⁴ Sapir, *Preliminary Report*, 533.

of us having had an opportunity of visiting it. What follows must be regarded as tentative, until someone goes over the district with other informants.

The Wishram lived on the north bank of the river, roughly from White Salmon River to Ten-Mile Rapids above the Dalles. Their permanent settlements were directly on the river, but they hunted and sought plants on the higher country directly back from the river to the watershed, that is, on the southern slopes of Mount Adams and the so-called Klickitat Mountains. It is possible that the White Salmon people, who occupied the vicinity of the river of that name, and who spoke the Wishram language, may not be properly classed as Wishram. The same is true of the *la'daxat* group, who had several villages about the Klickitat River. The difficulty is the one that confronts us throughout the length of the Pacific Coast; that political and territorial units are not sharply defined. In a more restricted sense, then, the Wishram were the people of the Dalles, whose principal settlement was *nixlu'idix* at Spedis, and whose other villages clustered from Crates Point below to Ten-Mile Rapids above. Their river frontage may thus have been only the brief span of fifteen miles; from White Salmon River to Ten-Mile Rapids is only thirty-five miles.

The neighbors of the Wishram prior to 1800 were not the same as those of the historic period. This was because of the movement of Sahaptin speaking peoples to the northern side of the Columbia, pushed out of the upper Deschutes drainage, as Teit has shown,⁵ by Snake attacks from the south and east. At least as late as 1750 both banks of the Columbia above the Dalles were occupied by Salish speaking people, whose remnants are still to be found in the Moses-Columbia band and Wenatchi. The northward migration which dispossessed these Salish ultimately deposited the Sahaptin Tenino, Tyighpam, or Deschutes on the south bank about the mouth of the Deschutes River, and the Klickitat on the north bank. The latter held the territory on the river above Ten-Mile Rapids, and had several villages interdigitated with those of the White Salmon group, or occupied jointly with them. Beyond the appearance of these Klickitat among the White Salmon and elsewhere lower on the river, there may have been little shifting of the tribes below the Dalles.

The Wasco were located on the south bank directly opposite the Wishram at the Dalles. They probably also had villages on the south side of Ten-Mile Rapids, at Celilo Falls, and as far upstream as the mouth of the Deschutes. They also laid claim to the country as far east as the John Day River, but never occupied it.⁶

Downstream from the Wasco on the Oregon side, and nearly opposite the White Salmon group, were the Hood (or Dog) River people. The Chilluck-quittequaw, a Chinookan division mentioned in 1804-6 as ten miles below the Dalles and extending nearly or quite to the Cascades, were probably White Salmon or Hood River Indians. The Cascades group (*ila'la*) were located on both sides of the Cascades, and at least on the north side downstream to Skamania and perhaps to Cape Horn. These were the *Watlala* (*wa'la*) men-

⁵ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 98 f.

⁶ Teit, *loc. cit.*, 107.

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tioned by Lewis and Clark. Ross mentions the Cathleyacheyachs at the head of the Cascades in 1811-14.⁷ The north bank may have had no settlements, or at least no permanent villages, for some distance between the White Salmon and the Cascades. Below the Cascades people, roughly from Troutdale to Kalama, and in the lower Willamette valley, were the Clackamas groups, whose territory was undoubtedly subdivided. Our information, relating to the occupancy of the Columbia from the Wishram to the Cascades, is of the period *circa* 1850, and shows no appreciable change from what was found by Lewis and Clark in 1804-6.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the Columbia valley above the Wishram and Wasco was occupied by Salish tribes. Teit's evidence⁸ is that at the Dalles or immediately east of it were the *Neketeme'ux* (.nkuteme'x^u), who were reckoned by the Moses-Columbia as a distinct tribe. They were "popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs." "Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'p̄xwa (Lapwai?) or Nā'p.a. .sqa'pa means 'sandy' in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa."

Above them were the Middle Columbia Salish (*Tskowāxtsenux* or .nkeēus), now known as the Moses-Columbia band of Eastern Washington, who at that time extended upward on both sides of the river from near the Dalles to below the mouth of the Wenatchee River. "North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of the Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams." This may well have been hunting territory for these river people, held jointly with Wishram and White Salmon, which later became the heart of the Klickitat possessions.

⁷ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 123, 257.

⁸ Teit, *loc. cit.*, 92-109.

This was the section of the Columbia most affected by the Sahaptin and Waiilatpuan migrations. These began about 1750 or even earlier, under pressure of Snake raids, or at least accelerated by them. The Sahaptins seem to have been living in the neighborhood of the upper Deschutes River; the Waiilatpuan Molala-Cayuse in a band of territory north of them and south of the Middle Columbia Salish on the Columbia. The series of movements brought the Sahaptins north of the Columbia; the Molala were displaced west of the Cascades and the Cayuse to the northeast. The first of these migrations into Washington was that of the people later known as Yakima. They were followed by other Sahaptins (the Klickitat) who "remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River." This was back of the White Salmon and Wishram on the river. Later "those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains." "It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tenai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xпам). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south. . . . A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko [carried them] into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City, probably in the early part of the last century." This division of Sahaptins at the Dalles became known as wai'yämpäm. They were mentioned by Ross as at the head of the Long Narrows in 1811-13.⁹ The northwesterly movement of the Snake appears to have been at its height about 1800-30. "At this time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla." Lewis and Clark also observed that in 1804-6 the Indian establishments were on the north bank alone, for fear of the Snake.¹⁰ Klamath contacts with the Wishram date from this time, with the clearing of the whole country on the Deschutes drainage.

There is a tradition of the Wishram, recorded by Mooney and obtained independently by us, that part of their number migrated northward to the upper Columbia. While the form in which the accounts were recorded is purely

⁹ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129, 195, 240.

¹⁰ Hosmer II, 31.

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mythical, it is possible that such a migration actually took place, perhaps caught up in the Sahaptin movement. Sapir recorded at length the tale referred to by Mooney:¹¹ the Wishram quarreled over how the duck made a certain noise, until some of their number seceded, and travelled up the Columbia to the Wenatchee River and beyond. Mooney gives their final location as the headwaters of the Spokane, while Mrs. Teio, one of our informants, placed them in British Columbia. All informants agreed that they are still in the north, although no living Wishram has ever seen them.

This has something of an authentic ring, despite the folkloristic element of the quarrel, until we realize that the Moses-Columbia tell a similar story of the little Salish tribe Neketeme'ux, the neighbors of the Wishram at the Dalles. As the following quotation from Teit indicates, the Moses-Columbia believe that the Thompson also split over a quarrel, and the Thompson have a tale to the same effect. "According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades. Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles. It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from *nkai'a*, near Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe."¹² If the Neketeme'ux Salish are not wholly legendary, it may be that they are identical with the dissident Wishram group. On the other hand, while we may well believe that the Neketeme'ux actually existed, it seems wholly probable that these stories are pure myth, Wishram, Moses-Columbia, and Thompson alike. Similar tales of separation of tribes

¹¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 200; Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 740.

¹² Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 96.

after quarreling, having all the ring of authenticity, have been recorded elsewhere in the Basin-Plateau area; for example, from the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) and the Havasupai.¹³

The locations of the Wishram villages and those of some of their neighbors are shown on the accompanying map (Fig. 1). There were probably more settlements than shown. The information refers to the period of 1850 and before. Our data are confused and indefinite; hence the locations may be considered merely approximate in most instances. No information was obtained about villages on the Oregon side save for Wasco and Deschutes. All names are recorded in Wishram phonetics, except as noted in the list below.

WISHRAM VILLAGES

1. at!at!a'ña itcagi'tkxoq, the roasting-pit of the ogress At!at!a'ña (see p. 274), was located on a small island "near the Falls or 'Tumwater'."¹⁴ This may be Celilo Falls but is probably Ten-Mile Rapids. This is reckoned the extreme eastern point of Wishram occupancy.
2. wa'yagwa (marikca'xaliḡ), a little below the last.
3. wa'q!Emap, a short distance above niḡlu'idix, hence perhaps but a quarter mile above Spedis railroad station, where is a mound known by this name.
4. niḡlu'idix, the chief Wishram village, was directly at the Dalles close to Spedis.¹⁵ This was a summer and winter settlement, containing about 400. The name "contains the same stem element (-ḡluit-) seen in the generic name ḡa'ḡluit, by which the Wishram call themselves. The first person singular of this, itḡlu'it ('I am a Wishram'), is probably the 'Echeloot' of Lewis and Clark. The etymology of Niḡlu'idix is uncertain. Louis Simpson suggested that it was connected with diglu'idix (they [i.e., the people] are heading for it [i.e., the village]'), in reference to the coming-together of many different tribes of Indians at the Falls for trading-purposes. This is probably folk-etymology, as ni— is a common local prefix in place-names."¹⁶ McGuff contributed another etymology: "An old lady tells why the Wishram are called ḡaḡluit. I never heard this explanation before. Once there were lots of people at this village. There came a monster of a woman, called Akxa'qusa (for whom an arrow was later named), who ate all the people of the village. Soon after East Wind's daughter came with the wind blowing over the village and saw it was destroyed. There were only pieces of clothing and small bits of bodies lying around. She gathered the pieces together in five piles and sprinkled them with paint. She stepped over these piles east and west, north and south, five times.

¹³ Loud and Harrington, *Lovelock Cave*, 162, 165, 167; cf. Lowie, *Shoshonean Tales*, 200-9, 242; Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, 98.

¹⁴ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 36.

¹⁵ See Biddle, *Wishram*.

¹⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 38.

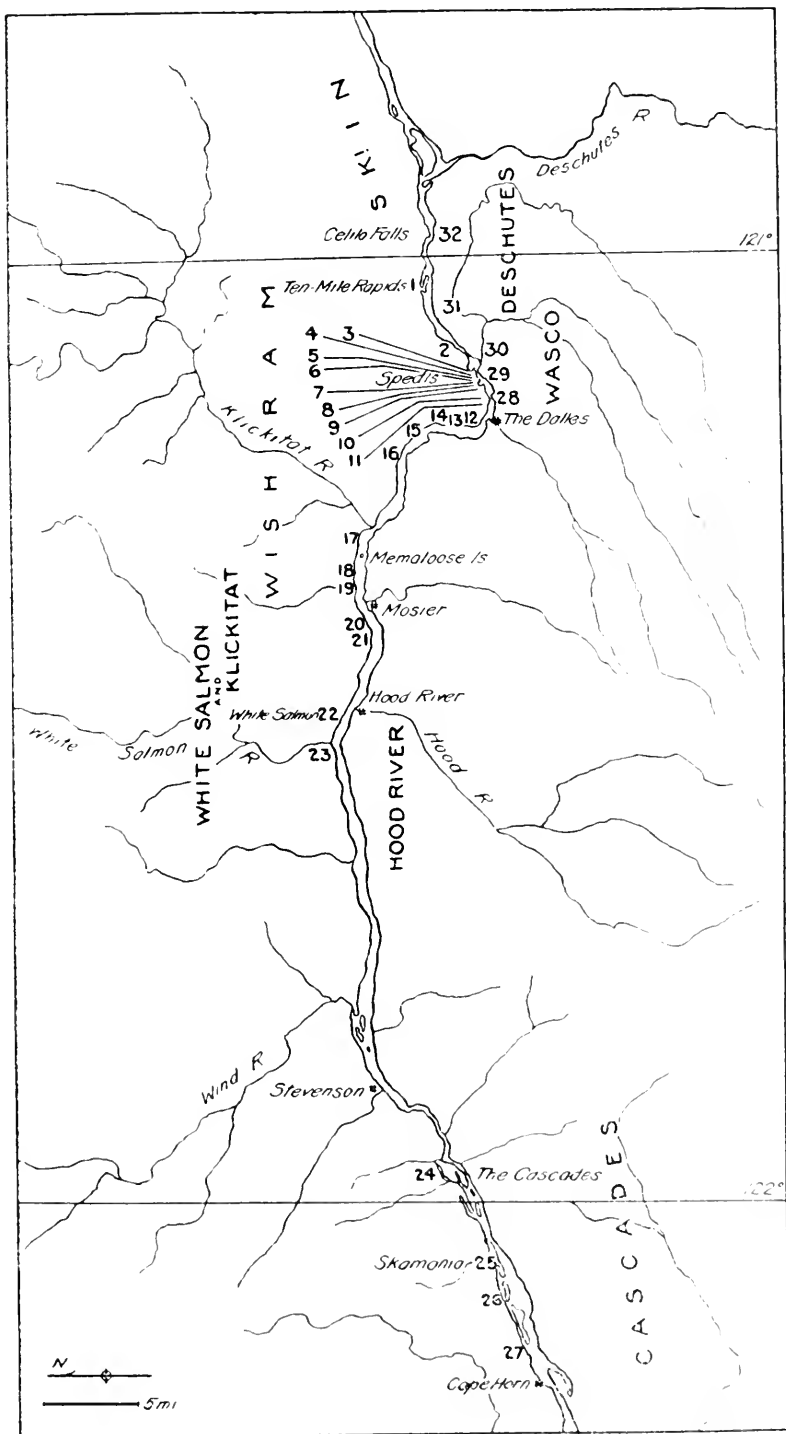


FIG. 1. Map of the Columbia River showing the location of Wishram and other villages.

Then the piles formed into five people. Now she named them *idaḡa'luit*. She said to them

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>imca'iq</i> | <i>ixlu'it</i> | <i>imca'lḡam</i> | <i>iya'xliu</i> |
| your flesh | coming together | your land | (his) name pertaining to |
| <i>nixlu'ia</i> | | | |

drew together.

The name *nixlu'idix* means 'at once it (your flesh) came together.'

5. *ciq'ɛ'ldaptix*, about a half mile below *nixlu'idix*, contained about 400 people. (It should be noted with all references to distances given by our informants that they seem very inexact.)
6. *caba'nkckc*, a village a little below the last and about a mile from *Spedis*.
7. *sku'ksḡat*, means "round eel or sucker mouth," had a population of about twenty-five. (This place may have been above the following.)
8. *wasna'niks*, a half-mile downstream from *caba'nkckc*.
9. *niu'ḡtac*, the river current in Big Eddy encircles the village. Big Eddy is an embayment in the north bank at the lower end of the Dalles. The village was a quarter-mile from *wasna'niks*. Lots of sturgeon were taken here.
10. *ɪ'lusɛltslix*, means "the place where it (water) keeps going down" (probably referring to some hollow place which fills and empties as the water swells into it); about two miles from *nixlu'idix*.
11. *ga'urecila*, a quarter-mile below, was occupied for fishing only when the water was high at this place.
12. *ga'wilaptck*, a winter village a mile below the station *Grand Dalles*. It takes its name from the fact that this is a famous place for finding things; here is slack water in which canoes and other drifting objects collect (cf. *idwi'ptck*, driftwood; *idla'ptck*, drift, driftwood [in *Cascades* and *Clackamas*]; *gawi* always denotes a place which is great for something).
13. *nayakḡa'tcix*, means "tooth" or "row of pointed rocks," a winter village a mile below the last.
14. *tsapḡa'didlit*, about a mile below, was a wintering place. Driftwood was gotten there.
15. *cq'ò'nana*, about a mile on, that is, about four miles from *The Dalles* across *Crates Point*. Sometimes about fifty people lived there, where sturgeon were caught.
16. *cka'gɛtc*, meaning "her (their) nostrils or nose," named from a rock of this shape.
17. *ɪa'daḡat*, was a short distance below the mouth of *Klickitat River* and about a mile above *Memaloose Island*, that is, perhaps ten miles below *The Dalles*. This was a winter village of 100 to 200 people. Many suckers were caught there in winter.¹⁷ The next village in order downstream, *cgwa'like* (18), belonged to the *Klickitat*.

¹⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 298.

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19. waci'nḡak, or gau'amuitk, was a half-mile below this Klickitat village, that is, perhaps a mile below Memaloose Island, an Indian burial ground.¹⁸ This was the last settlement downstream of the Wishram proper.

WHITE SALMON AND KLICKITAT VILLAGES

18. cgwa'likc had a population of fifty Klickitat (ʔi'xadat). It was not far below Memaloose Island.
20. tgasgu'tcu, meaning "their (her) bones," was said to be about a half-mile west of idwô'tca, a long, high mountain opposite Mosier, Oregon, and at the same time about a mile above White Salmon Landing. If the Landing is near the modern town of White Salmon, these distances are incompatible. This was jointly a town of White Salmon people (more properly "dried salmon people," itk!a'uanbam' ide'lḡam) and Klickitat, 300 in number.¹⁹
21. ʔmié'qsôq or ʔmuyaqsô'q, was a half-mile from the last, in 1905 the site of the Burket Ranch. It contained perhaps 100 White Salmon.
22. itk!i'lak or ilk'i'lak, meaning "dried pulverized salmon," was at White Salmon Landing, a half-mile downstream. This was inhabited by White Salmon people and Klickitat. The White Salmon group, who derived their name from this place, spoke with probably only slight variations, the same dialect as the Wishram and Wasco.
23. na'ncuit is now Underwood, Washington, about a half-mile below, at the mouth of White Salmon River. The village was well populated.

CASCADES VILLAGES

The villages of the Cascades Indians were separated by an interval from the lowest of the White Salmon villages. The first location mentioned for them, wała'la, was some ten miles below Wind River, which would place it near the Cascades of the Columbia. There must have been other settlements about the Cascades of which we do not know. All mentioned below, like all the foregoing, were on the Washington side of the Columbia.

24. wała'la, now Slide (?), is doubtfully a village. The word means "lake" (?) and gives its name to the Cascades people, wała'lide'lḡam.²⁰
25. sk!ema'niak held a population of the Cascades. It was a little below wała'la and is indicated on the map near the present town of Skamania.
26. ʔaxwa'lukl was perhaps two miles below sk!ema'niak. It had a population of 1000 (?). The name means "they are running by her continually."

¹⁸ The island was noted by Lewis and Clark in 1805 (Hosmer, II, 51).

¹⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 30.

²⁰ Lewis and Clark mention a village at the head of the Cascades in 1805, behind which were ponds (Hosmer, II, 53-4).

27. *nimicxa'ya* was a Cascades village about half a mile below a high rock (*ik!a'lamat*) now known as Castle Rock and about two miles above Cape Horn. (These are not to be confused with the Castle Rock and Cape Horn on the lower Columbia). The population was in the neighborhood of 400.²¹

WASCO VILLAGES

The Wasco villages were on the south side of the Columbia directly opposite those of the Wishram at the Dalles. They presumably extended at least from The Dalles to Ten-Mile Rapids even after the settlement of the Sahaptin Deschutes beside them, but we have a record of only three villages.

29. *wa'sq!o* was the chief village. It was five or six miles above The Dalles, (at Wasco, Oregon?), opposite *niɣlu'idix*, the chief village of the Wishram. The name is derived from *wa'cq!o* ("small bowl" or "cup"), the reference being to a cup-shaped rock near the village, into which a spring bubbled up. The spring is now obliterated by the highway. The Wasco tribal name *gaɣsq!o'* simply means "those who have the cup."²²
28. *wikxo't* was a Wasco village located a mile above The Dalles on the Oregon shore, hence below *wa'sq!o*.
30. *wötsaq*s, "lone pine," is doubtfully a village. This was said to be a few miles above the Dalles on the south bank, but it may well be the last, lone tree east of the Dalles mentioned by early travellers.²³ The timbered country of the Cascade Range extends as far eastward as The Dalles; any tree standing on the barren south side to the east would be distinctly noticeable.

WAIYÄ'MPÄM OR DESCHUTES VILLAGES

The Sahaptins living immediately above the Wishram and Wasco were known by several alternative names: *Waiyä'mpä*m, *Tyighpam*, *Tenino*, and *Deschutes*. Possibly these names referred to subdivisions. Teit gives the impression that this local group, which acquired a specific name, *Tenino* or *TEnai'nu*, were part of the *Klickitat* or of the *Tyighpam*. The proper home of the latter was higher on the *Deschutes*.²⁴ It may well be that this was a mixed group. They were said to differ dialectically from *Klickitat* to a slight degree. The *Wishram* and *Wasco* called these people collectively *ik!ai'mamt*. This included the people of *sk!in* on the north side of the river, and the *Deschutes* Indians (*Wayam* and *Tenino*) on the south. *Sk!in* was the country immediately north of the Columbia and east of the Falls or "Tumwater." Mooney states that the *Sk!in* people had a village on the north bank opposite *Celilo Falls*;

²¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 22.

²² *Ibid.*, 240.

²³ "Ogden's Tree," e.g., is shown in this position on the map of the Wilkes expedition (reproduced by Biddle, *Wishram*, opp. p. 9).

²⁴ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 100.

another group (tapänä'sh or eneeshur) was located opposite the mouth of the Deschutes, and a third (uchi'chol or ochechotes) lived on the north bank of the Columbia in Klickitat county, Washington.²⁵ Lewis and Clark stated that there was not more than six miles between the nearest villages of Écheloots (Wishram) and Eneeshurs. They mention the Wahhowpum (waiyă'mpäm) as on the north shore near Rock Creek, twenty-four miles above the mouth of the Deschutes River.²⁶

31. tí'nainō was a wa'yam village nearly five miles above The Dalles, being the first Sahaptin village on the south side east of Chinookan territory.
32. sí'lailō, at the present Celilo, Oregon, was another wa'yam village eleven or twelve miles above The Dalles.²⁷ Other settlements must have been somewhat to the east about the mouth of the Deschutes. The country beyond is a sandy, unattractive waste, and without doubt lacked any population to speak of.

We have no precise knowledge of the numbers of the Wishram. One reason is that we are not certain just which villages were reckoned as properly Wishram. It is our impression, however, that they formed only a small tribe, whose numbers were of the order of 1000 to 1500, probably nearer the lower limit.

Lewis and Clark offer an estimate of 1000 in 1804-6. But if the number of houses or lodges they recorded, twenty-one, is correct, this is too high, because it yields the incredible average of forty-eight people to a house. Assuming twenty-one to be correct for Niḡlu'idix alone, that is, the principal village, and assuming an average of two families or ten persons per household, we have 210 for the population of the village. This is not impossible. Yet the number given, 1000, may represent the total for the tribe.

Their estimates for other tribes of the vicinity are no more certain.²⁸ We list these from east to west:

| | Houses | Persons | Number per house |
|---|--------|---------|------------------|
| Wahowpum (waiyă'mpäm), from Rock Creek to twenty-three miles below..... | 33 | 700 | 21 |
| Eneshure (Sahaptin), on both sides at Ten-Mile Rapids | 41 | 1200 | 29 |
| Eskeloot (Wishram), at the upper end of the Dalles | 21 | 1000 | 48 |
| Chilluckittequaw (White Salmon or Hood River), from the Dalles to river Labiche (Hood River?) | 32 | 1400 | 44 |
| Smockshop band of Chilluckittequaw (hmie'qsôq, White Salmon), r. Labiche to the Cascades | 24 | 800 | 33 |

²⁵ Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 740.

²⁶ Hosmer, II, 46 (cf. 263), 266.

²⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 39, 40, 242, 244.

²⁸ Hosmer, II, 502.

If we knew the number of houses in each village we might estimate the population by assuming the average size of a household. We have no valid information on this. This can be approached by obtaining an average number of houses per village from the records of Lewis and Clark. We list below those villages in this district for which they make mention of the number of houses or persons (from east to west).

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Wahhowpum (waiyă'mpām), mouth of Rock Creek, north side (266) ²⁹ | 12 temp. mat huts |
| A little below, north side (266) | 5 huts |
| Eneeshurs (Sahaptin), 4 miles above the following, north side (265)..... | 4 |
| Eneeshurs, more than 8 miles above a point a little below the mouth of the Deschutes River, north side (265) | 6 |
| Lower end of Miller's Island (32)..... | 8 |
| One mile below, north bank (32)..... | 16 |
| One mile below the last, opposite the end of the island (32) | 6 |
| Eneeshurs, a little below the mouth of the Deschutes (263) | 9 mat houses |
| At the head of Celilo Falls (33)..... | 17 |
| At the foot of Celilo Falls, north bank (33)..... | 5 large houses |
| Two and a half miles below Celilo Falls (38)..... | 3 |
| Ten-Mile Rapids (39)..... | 1 |
| Niḡlu'idiḡ, at the head of the Dalles, north side (39).. | 21 (large village) |
| About nine miles below The Dalles, right bank (47)... | 8 |
| Six miles below the last, right bank ("houses contain 30 souls") (49)..... | 7 |
| Somewhat more than four miles below and three miles above Memaloose Island (50)..... | 11 |
| A short distance below Memaloose Island, right bank (51) | 2 |
| Three miles below, right bank (51)..... | 2 |
| From a point a mile below, for six miles downstream, were scattered | 14 |
| Smackshop (łmiē'qsōq, White Salmon), about six to seven miles above White Salmon River (254).... | 100 warriors |
| Just above Labiche River (Hood River?); the first village on the south bank (51)..... | 4 |
| Five miles below Canoe River (White Salmon River?), left bank (51)..... | 4 |
| Three miles below the last (i.e., 32+ miles below The Dalles), north side (51)..... | 3 |
| At the head of the Cascades, north side (53)..... | 8 large houses |
| At the head of the Cascades, south side (253)..... | 11 crowded; 60 warriors |

²⁹ Page references to Hosmer, vol. II, are given in parentheses.

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| | |
|--|----|
| Three miles above the foot of the Cascades, north (?) | |
| side (56) | 4 |
| At the foot of the Cascades, south (?) side (247)..... | 6 |
| Wahcclallah (Cascades) village, one mile below Beacon | |
| (Castle) Rock, north side..... | 23 |

The houses in villages on the Cascades seem to have been much larger than those upstream. Those of an old village on the north bank, midway of the Cascades, were uncommonly large: one measured 160 by 40 feet.³⁰

This yields a total of 220 houses in twenty-seven settlements; an average of 8.15 houses per village. If we assume an average of two families or ten persons to a house, this means an average of eighty or more persons per village. This is not an unreasonable number for an average household: the only specific instance we have, a rather haphazard group of relatives at Niḵlu'idix, does actually number ten (see p. 221). At the time (1860-70) the town held nine or ten houses. The number of towns pertaining to the Wishram proper as given by our informants, that is, from atlat'a'fia itcagi'tkḵok, at Ten-Mile Rapids, down to waci'nḵak, opposite Mosier, totals eighteen. Eighteen villages with eighty or more persons each yield a total Wishram population of 1440-1500. We need not assume that all these places were occupied at one time; some may have been solely or largely fishing stations. If this be so, the number might be reduced to about 1000. This agrees with Lewis and Clark's figure, but, of course, is no real check to it.

The number may be approached in yet another way. Ross (1811) states that "the main camp of the Indians is situated at the head of the narrows [Ten-Mile Rapids or the Dalles?], and may contain, during the salmon season, 3,000 souls, or more; but the constant inhabitants of the place do not exceed 100 persons, and are called Wy-am-pams."³¹ He may have meant that the whole concourse who congregated above the Dalles for trading was 3000. If we assume at least two-thirds of them belonged to local villages, we have 2000 to apportion among the Sahaptins, Wasco, and Wishram. This means perhaps 700 Wishram.

Mooney maintains that the population was even higher before Lewis and Clark's day than is indicated by their estimates. Epidemics had already reached them, even as early as 1782-3, and destroyed one-third to one-half of their number. He lists the Wishram at about 1500 before that time, i.e., in 1780. Mooney's tribal discriminations in this area are somewhat chaotic, so that too much faith must not be placed in his estimates.³²

The impression remains, however, that the number at the opening of the last century was about 1000. An upper limit is certainly 1500. Of their villages, Niḵlu'idix, the principal, may have held several hundred persons, perhaps 400 as our informant had it.

³⁰ Hosmer, II, 251.

³¹ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129.

³² Mooney, *Aboriginal Population of America*, 13 f.

An attempt was also made to identify Chinookan tribal and village names gleaned from the *Handbook of American Indians*. These are listed below with Wishram equivalents following. We have included in the present list only names referring to tribes or localities upstream from the Clackamas; others on the lower river and among the coastal Chinook were also obtained.

- Cathlassis Tribe on or near the Dalles.
gałasq'lo', inhabitants of wa'sq'lo; the tribal name of the Wasco.
- Cath-lath-la-las Tribe or village (?) on the Columbia at the Cascades.
ila'la'la, ga'la'la, "lake people," Cascade Indians (wala'la, "lake country, small lake").
- Chilluckquittequaw A division of the Chinook ten miles below the Dalles and extending near or quite to the Cascades in 1804.
Probably White Salmon or Hood (Dog) River Indians.
- Chippanchikchiks Chinookan (?) tribe on north side of the Columbia, a little below the falls in the Long Narrows.
caba'nkckc, a Wishram village a little below Spedis.
- Clahclellah Considered by Lewis and Clark to be a branch of the "Shahala" nation. Located at the Cascades of the Columbia in 1804.
ga'la'la, "lake dwellers," lived at the lake; Cascade Indians.
- Cow-e-laps Village six miles below the Dalles and three miles from the mission.
ga'wilaptck, a Wishram village below The Dalles on the Washington side.
- Des Chutes Collective term applied to Indians on and about the Deschutes River, Oregon. Identified by Gibbs with the Eneeshurs of Lewis and Clark.
Designates the ilk'la'imamt, Sahaptins.
- Echeloot Tribe on the Columbia at the Dalles in 1804.
Probably i'tc'xliuit, "I am a Wishram," one of the ila'xliuit.
- Ilte-Kai-Mamits On or near the Dalles. Perhaps Chinookan; perhaps Sahaptin tribe.
ilk'la'imamt, the Sahaptin people above the Dalles.
- Ithkyemamits On the north side of the Columbia near the Cathlathlas or Wascos. May have been identical with the Echeloots, Eneeshurs or others. Morse places them opposite the entrance of the Deschutes River into the Columbia.
(same as the preceding.)
- Kle-mak-sac A village 25 miles down the Columbia from the Dalles in 1844.
imié'qsôq, a village of the White Salmon across from Mosier, Oregon.

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- Ne-nooth-lect A village in 1844, 28 miles from the Dalles on the
Columbia.
ni'nułdidix.
- Niculuita Village on Columbia River opposite the Dalles.
niḵlu'idiḵ, the principal Wishram village at the Dalles (see text above).
- Smaksop In 1804 lived on each side of the mouth of the Labiche
not far from and above the Cascades.
imié'qsôq, a White Salmon village (see Kle-mak-sac, above).
- Scal-taepe (or Scal-tolpe) Village at head of Cascades, Columbia River.
sq!E'ldlpl, known also as skałxE'łEmaX (a village?).
- Tcipan-Tchick-Tcick Tribe of 100 at the Dalles on the Columbia.
caba'nkckc, a Wishram village a little below Spedis.
- Wasco Formerly occupied the neighborhood of a spring some
ten miles east of the Dalles.
wa'sq!o, the principal Wasco village (see text above).
- Watlala Chinookan division located in 1804 below the Cascades
of the Columbia.
wała'la, the Cascades Indians.
- Weocksockwillacum Chinookan division located in 1804 on Canoe Creek on
north side of the Columbia just above Crusattes River
not far above the Cascades. Occupied several villages.
imié'qsôq w'łxam (?), the White Salmon Indians.
- Wey-eh-hoo Tribe on south side of Columbia River, near Crusattes
River.
wa'iax·ix·.
- Wisham Village formerly at the "Long Narrows," north side of
the Columbia, three miles above the Dalles.
wu'cxam, the Yakima-Klickitat name for the ifa'ḵluit, the Wishram.

MATERIAL CULTURE

FISHING

While we have no explicit statements, it is probable that the Wishram depended primarily on fishing for subsistence, secondarily on root and seed gathering, with hunting in distinctly subordinate place. So we judge from a few direct references, the location of these people on the banks of the Columbia, and by comparison with the habits of other tribes of this general region. The Columbia, the largest river of the Pacific Coast, contains fish at all times of the year and at certain seasons the fish ascending the stream run in prodigious numbers.

The Columbia is somewhat south of the best salmon area, yet five species of salmon (*Oncorhynchus*) ascend the river, and with them the steelhead trout (*Salmo*), confused with the salmons by Indian and white fishermen alike. Cobb³³ states that the largest of the salmon, variously called chinook, spring, tyee, or king salmon, come to the Columbia in "three runs, the first entering during January, February, and March, and spawning mainly in the Clackamas and neighboring streams. The second, which is the best run, enters during May, June, and part of July, spawning mainly in the headwaters. The third run occurs during late July, August, September, and part of October, and spawns in the tributaries of the lower Columbia." The blueback (red or sockeye) salmon enters with the spring run of chinooks. The silver (coho or white) species "usually appears in July, and runs as late as November." Only few of the humpback or pink salmon occur as far south as the Columbia. The run of dog or chum salmon is at about the same time as that of silver salmon; "from about the middle of August till late in November." The principal center of abundance of the steelhead trout on the Pacific coast is the Columbia River, where it is found during the greater part of the year. The size of these species varies considerably: in this stream their average weights are respectively about 22, 5, 6, 4, 8 and 8-15 pounds. So far as the salmon and steelheads are concerned, the most plentiful supply on the middle Columbia would seem to be in summer (May to October), especially its earlier half. Midwinter and again April seem to be the periods of ebb. Lewis and Clark observed April 19, 1806, that the first salmon arrived in the vicinity of the Dalles.³⁴

Statements of our informants confirm this. The water in the river is so variable, however, that locally supplies of fish were sometimes not available. Salmon were caught at Celilo on the south bank even at its lowest stage, in October, but at Spedis on the north bank, where the Wishram villages were located, it became too dry long before this.

A wide variety of other fish were taken, among them pike, sturgeon, sucker, chub, trout, smelt, and lamprey eel. Shell fish were also used. Chub and suckers were caught in the spring: they are fat in April, but not considered good later. Lampreys were caught at Celilo in winter. They were not taken

³³ Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, 8-11.

³⁴ Hosmer, II, 261, cf. 257.

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in winter at Spedis, but from April to June old fish of the previous year were caught. Franchère states that the sturgeon enters the lower river in August-September, and "a small fish about the size of a sardine," probably the so-called "smelt" (olachen), in February.³⁵

In the immediate vicinity of the principal Wishram villages the Columbia River is a maze of narrow channels, whirlpools, and eddies between the precipitous shores and the rocks jutting up in the stream. Fishing stations were highly prized and passed by inheritance into the possession of a group of relatives in each generation. It was assumed by the informants that these were descendants of the original discoverer of the site. No one else was allowed to fish at a particular station without permission of its owners. Six to ten related old men might own a station in common at which their families fished. Any one among them might preempt the best place at the station temporarily. Each station had its overseer who was usually a chief or head man.

It is probable that each group of this sort had a station for spearing fish and another where they netted. At least there were stations appropriate to each of these methods and they were not used at the same time. Fish were speared in the fall; caught with the dip net in summer. McGuff stated that one could not use the spearing station for dip-netting nor the netting station for spearing with any success. It is doubtful that this has any esoteric significance; rather that the stations were chosen with respect to the stages at which the river flood stood, varying from one season to another.

The Columbia varies surprisingly in its stages for a river carrying such a volume of water. The river is low during the late summer, reaching its ebb in October, but rises forty-five feet in flood stage.³⁶

The fish that were caught belonged exclusively to the fisherman, but custom permitted old men (presumably anyone) to take fish for each of their two meals a day. If the fisherman lifted his net to the fishing-stage and let it lie with the one or two fish it contained, some one among the old men squatting on the staging would club the fish and appropriate it for his own. If, however, the fisherman brought up several fish which he wanted to retain, he slapped himself on the buttocks as a sign of his intention.³⁷ While the station and the staging erected there was common property to the group of owners, each man fished with his own spear or net.

Preparation for erecting the fishing-stages was made in summer when the water was low. Holes were made in the river bed at some distance from the shore to receive the posts on which the staging was to be supported. When the water has reached the proper level during the summer, a strong man familiar with the task was chosen to set the posts. A fir sapling, pushed out from the bank, was sat on by others to hold it firm while he walked out on it. He fastened a rope around his waist, the other end of which was tied above, to keep him from being carried away should he slip off. Carrying a staging-pole,

³⁵ Franchère, *Narrative*, 322-3.

³⁶ Strong and Schenck, *Petroglyphs*, 77.

³⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 187.

he watched until the swirling water brought the hole to light, quickly inserted it in place, and immediately tied it to the fir sapling on which he stood. Those on shore at once piled rocks on their end. A second post was similarly set and cross-bars tied between the saplings with hazel ropes. When the water reached its proper level at another station the staging was similarly set.³⁸

All stations did not require staging. One man owned a spot beside a whirlpool at the foot of an upright rock. He slid down to it on a pole. There he had a plank wedged in place for a footing. His catch was hauled up with a rope.

Netting seems to have been by far the commonest mode of fishing, spearing being restricted to fishing in the autumn. We may presume that like most professional fishermen they looked on line fishing as too unproductive.

The common dip-net had its net attached to a wooden ring to which a long handle was fitted. This ring was formed of a maple sapling, one to two inches thick, bent into a hoop two feet in diameter, its ends inserted into a segment of oxhorn. The handle, a long pole two inches in diameter, was fastened to this. McGuff's sketch of the implement shows, however, the handle extending within the hoop where it was fastened to a transverse bar. The net was a pouch four feet in length fastened tightly on the hoop and woven of fibers from a tree resembling the willow. McGuff states that a double strand of selected flax fibers was used for large salmon nets, any common grade of flax for those used to take eels, chub, and suckers. A long rope was tied to the hoop, probably at the point of attachment to the handle, the free end of which was fastened to a convenient rock so as to steady the net. This was used in a whirlpool. When a salmon entered the pool it was dipped up and clubbed.

A similar dip net had its net loosely threaded on the hoop and fastened to the cross-bar by a slip-knot. When a fish was caught the jerk of its weight caused the knot to slip so that the net mouth sliding closed on the hoop caught the fish as in a purse.

Nets for eels (lampreys) and smelt were similar to those described above, but smaller. The hoop was eighteen inches in diameter and the mesh of the net quite close. They were used at night; when the fisherman felt the eel in the net he dumped it into a hollow in the rock beside him.

The seine net was made of a size appropriate to the place where it was to be used. The Wishram seining place was midway between the Wishram village at Spedis and Sk!i'n (perhaps six miles above). At this place a seine twelve feet deep and 100 feet long was used. It was made of selected flax fiber with a mesh of three or four inches. Ropes of an inch thickness were fastened along top and bottom margins to take the floats and sinkers. The floats were of wood, the size and shape of a bottle, fastened ten feet apart. Directly below each float was a sinker, a stone of three pounds weight, either flat and pierced to take the attachment, or ovate and grooved. To set the seine, two men paddled out on a crescentic course while a third tossed it overboard. A rope seventy-five to 100 feet long attached to the net was used to haul it in (ashore?).

³⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 185.

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Gauges were used in fabricating all nets. These were flat slabs of elk-horn, a quarter inch or more in thickness, three to four inches long, and of various widths. A width of a half inch was suitable for the mesh of eel nets, two and a half to three inches for steelhead, blueback and silver salmon, three to four inches for chinook salmon and sturgeon. The shape of the gauge is shown in outline in Fig. 2, reproduced from McGuff's sketch. It bore various decorations on its faces; human faces, salmon, sturgeon, seal, and the heads of various birds.

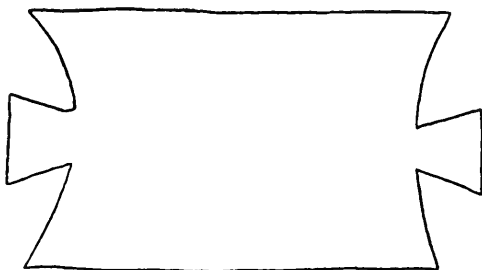


FIG. 2. Outline of a net gauge redrawn from a native sketch.

Fish traps seem to have been of two varieties, basket traps and weirs. These were used more in the creeks than in the open river. The basket trap was made in two sizes, differently named, but not certainly different in construction. The smaller trap, called *ik!a'lat*, for small fish, like trout and chub, was a cylindrical basket tapering to a closed end. In the open end was a series of rods arranged funnel-wise and perhaps terminating in a ring. The fish attempting to jump the falls, drifts back through the funnel and is unable to find its way back through the small opening. The larger trap (*ak!a'lat*) for salmon was identical, but may have had an additional construction inside. McGuff's sketch suggests that the funnel in the mouth gave on the small end of a second funnel facing toward the rear of the trap. This would provide an inner chamber in which the fish would remain, but it does not appear to add to the efficiency of the device, if it really existed. Such basket traps were made of hazel or willow twigs fastened together in open twine construction. They were set in a creek below a low fall; a foot or two was sufficient for the purpose. Two posts were thrust into the bed or bank slanting toward each other. The basket trap was suspended from a rope connecting their upper ends.³⁹ Weir-like obstructions may have been placed to direct the fish toward its mouth.

The weir was placed in larger creeks at points where there were a series of shallow falls. This was formed of a series of posts supporting horizontal poles lashed together and forming a pen with its opening upstream. At night fish sometimes drift downstream backward. They swim excitedly on the first bench, more quietly on the second, and rest at ease in the enclosure surrounding the lowest fall. A gaff hook was used to take the fish out.

³⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 26.

The club for killing salmon, sturgeon, etc., was a straight wooden billet fifteen inches long, tapering from a diameter of three and a half to one or two inches. It was not decorated.

Fish spears were generally the two-pronged variety common on the Northwest Coast. Two long divergent prongs were lashed to the end of a pole, each bearing a detachable point. Each point was fastened with sinew and pitch to one end of a cord four feet long. The other end of each cord was then tied to the spear shaft in such fashion that when the point was set on its prong, the cord was somewhat slack. When the fish was struck the detachable point came free, holding the fish attached to the shaft by the cord. The points were of flint or deerhorn. We may presume the deerhorn points were like those of other tribes in the vicinity; they presumably had a socket hollowed in the base into which the foreshaft of the spear fitted. The flint points would have to have been set into a wooden or horn piece (as McGuff's obscure statement suggests) in order to furnish a socket. McGuff's sketch shows the points furnished with barbs. The shaft varied in length depending on the height of the fishing stage above the water; generally they were about sixteen feet long. The wooden foreshafts or prongs were presumably lashed to the shaft with thin strips of wild cherry bark as elsewhere on the coast.⁴⁰

Fish was dried by hanging it where it was protected from the sunlight, and smoked incidentally, in the summer mat-lodge. A large section at the rear of the house was given over to the drying racks. The desire was to have the fish dry as long and thoroughly as possible. They were, however, not deliberately smoked as by the tribes of Puget Sound.

Clark observed in October, 1805, that "on these rocks [at the Dalles] the Indians are accustomed to dry fish, and as the season for that purpose is now over, the poles which they use are tied up very securely in bundles and placed on the scaffolds."⁴¹

Salmon was often dried, pulverized, and preserved in baskets, for use in winter, and to be traded to other tribes who came regularly to the Dalles for barter.⁴² The dried salmon has a sweetish taste and was often used by pinches as a condiment on other foodstuffs. It was stored in twined circular baskets lined with dried salmon skin and covered with more of the same. It was said that it would then keep indefinitely. The salmon skin was prepared for this purpose by repeated drying and stretching. A sack of dried salmon was called *itci'nqu'ix*, and may have been of a standard size.

Lewis and Clark observed (October 1805, presumably at Celilo Falls) the "Indians engaged in drying fish and preparing it for the market. The manner of doing this is by first opening the fish and exposing it to the sun on their scaffolds. When it is sufficiently dried it is pounded fine between two stones until it is pulverized, and is then placed in a basket about two feet long and one in diameter, neatly made of grass and rushes, and lined with the skin of

⁴⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 29.

⁴¹ Hosmer, II, 39.

⁴² Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 30.

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a salmon stretched and dried for the purpose. Here they are pressed down as hard as possible and the top covered with skins of fish, which are secured by cords through the holes of the basket. These baskets are then placed in some dry situation, the corded part upwards, seven being usually placed as close as they can be put together, and five on the top of them. The whole is then wrapped up in mats, and made fast by cords, over which mats are again thrown. Twelve of these baskets, each of which contains from ninety to a hundred pounds, forms a stack, which is now left exposed till it is sent to market; the fish thus preserved are kept sound and sweet for several years, and great quantities of it, they inform us, are sent to the Indians who live below the falls, whence it finds its way to the whites who visit the mouth of the Columbia. We observe, both near the lodges and on the rocks in the river, great numbers of stacks of those pounded fish."⁴³ At the Dalles "the stock of fish dried and pounded was so abundant that he [Clark] counted one hundred and seven of them [bundles], making more than ten thousand pounds of that provision."⁴⁴

Such pounded fish was dried on a grass mat which was placed on top of a grid of poles supported on posts, like that used for drying meat. The grid was just the size of the mat and had its cross pieces spaced somewhat further apart than in the meat drier. This was considered the most effective way of drying ground fish since air could reach it through the mat as well as from above. It dried much more rapidly and thoroughly in this fashion than in any other, and never decayed.

Lewis and Clark also observed the storage of fish in the ground for winter food (at Celilo Falls?, October, 1805). "A hole of any size being dug, the sides and bottom are lined with straw, over which skins are laid; on these the fish, after being well dried, is laid, covered with other skins, and the hole closed with a layer of earth twelve or fifteen inches deep."⁴⁵

Fresh (?) fish was prepared by steaming it and splitting off the flanks.⁴⁶

Ats!É'pts!Ép was a mixture of dried fish and pieces of flesh mashed up fine and kept in fish-oil.⁴⁷

A fish-soup (it'u'luck) is mentioned as given to a convalescent man. It was made of heads of various varieties of salmon.⁴⁸ This use of soup may be akin to the common view of Indians that soup is fit food only for invalids.

The eels (lampreys) are small. These were split and cleaned, but the head, tail and backbone left in place. They were cut into four or five segments, about five inches long. To roast them, a stick was thrust through from the inside, and then stuck into the ground so as to lean obliquely over the fire. They were roasted until brown. The wood chosen for this purpose is a variety growing in the mountains which imparts no taste to the cooked eel.

⁴³ Hosmer, II, 33.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, II, 40.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 36.

⁴⁶ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 29.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*, 141.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*, 182.

HUNTING

Hunting presumably took a secondary place in Wishram activities. Most hunting was in the forests clothing the southern spurs of the Mount Adams mass, the locally-styled White Salmon and Klickitat Mountains. Deer and elk were taken with the bow and club by still-hunting, or driven along their runs to waiting hunters, or taken in pit falls. Fences, decoys, and the surround were unknown. Predatory animals, or any that could be caught with bait, were usually taken in deadfall traps, although they were also stalked.

Deer were seldom killed in summer when the bow was the chief reliance. As these were short ranged, still hunting was not very fruitful. To be sure, stronger men, who wielded more powerful bows, were more successful. In winter the deer could be readily followed over crusted snow or driven into snow covered pits.

The organization of a hunting party was described by McGuff as follows. Men who wanted to hunt would gather and decide among themselves where they will hunt, whether snow shoes will be needed, the number of days they intend to stay, how much food must be taken along, and so on. Their hunting food was usually dried salmon eggs, which were far lighter to carry and contained more oil than anything else of equal weight. They appointed one of their company to conduct the hunt, to make plans concerning their route and where they were to meet. Before they left this man would build a sweatlodge in which he sweated for five mornings before the sun rose. All the while he was sweating he talked to the steaming rocks asking for good luck, that he and his party might kill much game. He addressed the sweatlodge as great grandparent (*alxt!ma'x*). (Why it was so called, McGuff's informant could not say). At the same time his companions were also sweating. When they went everything was left to this man: his method was used. Sometimes he was a shaman; if so, he was more to be relied on, for he would then have dreamed where to find the deer or elk next day. If this leader should fail, the next party of which he was a member would pass him by in their selection by reason of his poor judgment. When their time limit was up they stopped hunting. If they had more meat than they could carry, it was hung on tree limbs to be left until someone in need of meat passed by.

A hunting party divided the game equally. The one who killed a deer was entitled to the hide and horns; he might prefer to give them to another. Deer were rarely cut into pieces unless there was but a single deer, for example, to divide among them. The carcass was always eviscerated, the legs were tied, those on the same side by a cord eighteen inches long, and the deer slung on the packer's back so that a leg rested on each of his shoulders. Some preferred a packstrap, in which case the legs of the deer were tied to its body and the strap attached to the carcass above the hips and behind the shoulders. The strap rested on the packer's head or across his chest and shoulders. A strong man could transport two big bucks, a weight of some 300 pounds.

Deer were also taken on their natural runways. The hunters would select

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points where it was known that deer habitually passed at certain times during the day or when disturbed by hunters. Such a point was a mile and a half above the mouth of the Klickitat River, where eight or ten men might take their stand. Others went upstream half a dozen miles to drive them down. Above this on the river was a point where the deer always crossed; hunters also waited on either side there. Despite all the confusion of shouting and shooting, the deer would invariably turn into the runways past the waiting bowmen.

Elk were found much further back in the mountains. They were hunted in much the same manner as deer, but an attempt was always made to kill the leading stag first. If this was successful, five or six of the herd could be dispatched before they took alarm. Should only an outlying animal be hit, the herd would almost certainly flee following their leader.

Deer were much easier to take in winter when they floundered in the snow drifts. A snow fall of two or three feet crusted by following sleet or hail made success quite certain. The deer were then found in large herds taking shelter from the storm in some grove of heavy timber. Snowshoes used in the pursuit brought them within easy bowshot. The deer breaking through the crust, cut their legs and soon ceased struggling to escape. They were then clubbed rather than shot. (The form of the club is unknown.)

Deer were also taken in winter in pitfall traps. These were trenches dug in the regular deer trails, six feet wide, fifteen or twenty long, and quite deep. Poles were laid across this, covered with a little light brush. After a light snow its existence was quite concealed. The game was then driven toward the pits with the aid of dogs. Some would fall through; those that did not would remain with their feet hanging between the poles. Those that fell through could never jump out and were there dispatched with clubs.

Dogs are described as woolly and all of a single type.

In fawn time a deer caller was used. A grass blade was held between the thumbs when the hands were clasped, leaving an opening on each side. Putting the hands to the mouth and blowing on the edge of the grass blade created a bleating sound imitating the cry of a fawn and causing a deer to answer or approach. This will also attract a cougar or wolf who might mistake it for a fawn.

Bears were hunted only in the mountains where huckleberries, blackberries, and hazel nuts abound, that is in late summer and fall. Bears are much more approachable at this time when they are occupied only with gorging themselves. The hunter crept within close shooting range. Bear flesh was not much esteemed. It was eaten but little; the majority of Wishram would not eat it under any circumstances. One of their strongest beliefs was that the bear was a human at one time and his flesh is like a man's. The fur was rather desired. It was used for bed mattresses and for a kind of breech clout having a wide seat.

Bear, cougar, wolf, fox, and other animals attracted by bait were caught in deadfall traps. Large logs were required in a deadfall for bear, cougar, and

wolf. Lewis and Clark mention seeing snares set for wolves near the Dalles.⁴⁹

Timber wolves are like elk, in that once the leader is killed, others may be shot and will not ordinarily turn on their pursuer. Wolf hunting was very dangerous before the introduction of guns. Yet the fur was greatly desired and valuable. Shamans, war chiefs, and chiefs of tribes were the only ones who had it and only exceptional hunters pursued them.

How far contribution was levied on the animal world we do not know. A number of animals and birds were cited as eaten: tree squirrel (considered excellent food), ground squirrel, mountain goat, ducks, grouse. They did not eat, among others, grizzly bear, badger, rock squirrel, turtle, eagle, magpie, redwing-blackbird, dove, and igwai'gwai (a small grey bird).

Meat was sundried to preserve it. Sometimes it was cured more thoroughly by roasting and smoking it on a special form of scaffold. This was a low affair consisting of four posts driven into the ground at the corners of a rectangle three by six feet, supporting a grid of small poles about three feet above the ground. The meat was sliced in small pieces of one-half to one and a half pounds in weight, and thin, one-half to an inch thick. These were laid singly side by side on the grid. A fire was laid under the grid and maintained as uniform as possible to roast all the meat evenly.

Ducks were boiled.

VEGETAL FOODS

The gathering of roots and berries, in fact of all vegetal products whether intended for food or as basket materials, etc., was primarily a feminine task.

Women went in the spring to the prairies on the mountain slopes to dig roots. They carried a basket tied to the waist at the right side. The digging stick was oak, eighteen inches to two feet in length, had a curved point and bore a short cross-grip at the top. Berries and nuts were also obtained on the mountains, but in the fall. Like roots, these were stored for winter use. It is somewhat doubtful that seeds of composite plants were used. At least the common practise of beating them into a basket was unknown to Mrs. Teio.

Seeds of the water lily were traded from the Klamath. They were not gathered by the Wishram and may not grow in their country. These seeds are called iġe'lūk, which is not a Klamath word.

A partial list of plant foods was obtained.

ROOTS

camas, the familiar staple of the whole region. Plentiful on higher ground near the mountains. Dug in May. Pit-roasted for two days; not boiled.

wild onion (iġ!la'uwaitk), an elongated root. Roasted.

wild onion (ak!u'stxulal and ak!a'lakia), two other roots mentioned; the latter is the larger.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Hosmer, II, 44.

⁵⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 95.

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another variety of wild onion (itkō'kcti), very small and round. Roasted two days.

wild potato (wakxa't), twice as big as an acorn; known generally as "wap-patoo."⁵¹

wild dwarf potato (keclaxen), globular, an inch or more in diameter (identical with the last?). The proper time to dig it was after it lost its flowers in May or June. Roasted, or rather steamed, in a pit for a short time.

wild potato (itq!wô't), one of the foregoing?; said to be similar to the following (amu'mal), but of finer grade and grain.⁵² The skin is black; mashed fine and boiled in a stew.

bitter wild potato (amu'mal), very small. These were cleaned and pounded fine in a mortar, squeezed into balls, and dried. They were then made into a loaf, ten inches long, between two sticks which were tied together at the ends.⁵³ Pairs of these connected by short cords were slung over convenient poles and hung away to dry. This might either be eaten dry or made into a mush.

wild carrot (adwô'q), a sweet root. Boiled, but could be eaten raw. A stew called idá'nex̄t was made of this root with bitter wild potatoes, to which dried fish was sometimes added.⁵⁴

another wild carrot (imts!ona, in Yakima), a finger-length root resembling the carrot of a plant bearing yellow flowers. Roasted.

abia'xi (or peyahee), a little macaroni-like root dug in the mountains; each plant has a little bunch of these rootlets, four or more together, and about five inches long. The jacket was scraped off the rootlets to the white flesh. Boiled.

akapi'lili, a plant with leaves like grass, the tiny root of which is carrot-shaped. Washed and eaten raw.⁵⁵

ik!a'lak!iá, a flat root bulb (three-quarters to an inch in diameter) of a plant with long grass-like leaves and small grayish flowers. Roasted, but could be boiled.

ixlümklaimax, a flat root of a large flat-leafed water plant (not the water-lily) found in a lake on the south side of Mount Adams. Gathered in the fall with the aid of a flat stick or by feeling about with the foot. Roasted like camas.

large sunflower (wapictx), the roots were dug in the spring. Roasted.

⁵¹ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 140.

⁵² Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 94.

⁵³ Described for the lower Columbia Indians by Franchère (*Narrative*, 321).

⁵⁴ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 78.

⁵⁵ Franchère mentions a food called chapaleel in the form of "square biscuits, very well worked, and printed with different figures. These are made of a white root, pounded, reduced to paste, and dried in the sun" (*Narrative*, 322).

LEAVES AND STEMS

large sunflower, the early leaves of this were eaten fresh.

wi'pik, a plant with a sheaf of flat leaves, a foot high, bearing yellow flowers.

In the spring the stems were gathered, peeled, and eaten like celery.

wi'pān, like the last but smaller. Used in the same way.

il̄wa'hac, the leaves (of the preceding?) when they first appear were eaten fresh like lettuce.

BERRIES AND NUTS

hazel nuts, gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation.

acorns (see below).

āslau'a.itk, a thorny tree as large as a willow bearing black berries.

aḵwālai'ḵwālai, similar but with red berries.

huckleberries, ripe in the fall.

blueberries (emi'tcklan), on bushes twelve to eighteen inches tall. These and huckleberries were pounded somewhat, and put away for the winter in tall, narrow baskets.

aga'kwai, berries having the bluish color of eels (hence the name); grow on low bushes like blueberries.

cranberries, gathered in the fall on the southern slope of Mount Adams; smaller than the cultivated variety and not hollow. Boiled.

MOSS

ik!u'nūc, a black hair-like moss found on fir trees in the mountains. Gathered at any season but especially in the fall. Cleaned with the fingers, soaked for a long time and washed very clean. This was mixed with wild onions (iḷḷa'uwaitk) and pit-roasted. It was placed in the pit, which contained hot stones, between dry pine needles which were first wetted. A fire was built over the pit as well. It was allowed to roast for two days. This was then formed into cakes.

While the only full account of food preparation was that of acorns, we do not wish to imply that the Wishram made any considerable use of acorns in the manner of Californian tribes. Ripe acorns intended for winter use were gathered in November after they had fallen from the trees. They were pit-roasted, sacked, and carried home to the river villages for storage. A shallow pit, three feet in diameter, was dug, and filled with fire wood on which stones were laid. When the wood was consumed, the stones were poked about to form a flat surface. These were then covered with a layer of mixed dry oak leaves and dry fir needles,

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which were sprinkled to form steam. The acorns were placed on this, covered with leaves and then with dirt. A heap of logs was built over this and allowed to burn for two days, by which time the acorns were thoroughly roasted. Five to eight large bagsful were cooked at one time.

When the roasted acorns were sacked, they were carried to the villages. Nearby at the river brink were pot-holes in the rocks. These, which served as storage pits, were individually owned. One belonging to Mrs. Teio's mother, for example, was three feet in diameter by six feet deep. Blue mud, which has a pleasant odor, was brought from the river and dumped into the hole. The acorns were thrown in, together with the aromatic seeds of the *k!adodo'na* plant (a non-edible plant resembling wild mustard), and mixed with the mud. The mass was covered with a clean mat and sticks, and rocks so firmly piled over it that no animal could dig in.⁵⁶

When the acorns were wanted, the mud and seeds were washed away. The shells were soft so that they could be picked open with the fingers. They needed no further preparation. The nuts were not a staple but were eaten at leisure moments, not at meals.

Dried huckleberries, hazel-nuts, and acorns were made up into packages of standard size which were given special designations, as follows: respectively *iuna'yexix*, *ak'u'lalix*, *agu'lulix*. These are similar to the sacks of dried salmon, which seem to have been of standard size. It may well be that this standardization was the result of the extensive trade carried on by these people.

COOKING AND MEALS

Various methods of cooking have already been described. The principal method employed for vegetable products at least seems to have been pit-roasting, probably because roots formed the largest single element. Boiling seems to have had a decidedly second place.

Stone-boiling was the single form employed. Granite bowls were used for the purpose, the hot stones being dropped into the food. While the large wooden bowls were not described as cooking utensils, it is possible that they too were used in this fashion. Apparently baskets were not used for the purpose.

Fir bark was extensively used in the hearths. In a Wasco tale collected by Curtin it is explained that a large log was customarily put on the fire with bark on top of it. The wood was called the "husband of the bark."⁵⁷ Lewis and Clark note "their chief fuel is straw, southern-wood, and small willows."⁵⁸ The fire-drill was the simple palm drill, probably of a single piece of wood. Tinder was used.

Food was served at meals in bowls of wood and horn, and presumably in baskets. Horn and wooden ladles and spoons were used with these.

⁵⁶ The Yakima were said to bury them in a hole in the earth near a spring, mixing them with *k!adodo'na* seeds and *k!aunina'ak*, a fragrant plant with leaves like those of the willow. This resembles the procedure on Puget Sound.

⁵⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 312.

⁵⁸ Hosmer, II, 261.

Meals were served twice a day, morning and evening. Visitors of, both sexes were fed first, then the family. Men of the household might eat with the guests. One point is clear, that men did not eat first.

CANOES

The Wishram were essentially a river people, their primary interests centering in fishing and movements on the Columbia. It must be remembered that in their immediate neighborhood the broad river is narrowed to a turbulent stream rushing among rocks and quite dangerous to navigate.

Of the three types of canoe made on the Northwest Coast, as differentiated by Olson,⁵⁹ the Northern, the Nootka or Chinook, and the shovel-nose canoes, the Wishram made only the shovel-nose to our certain knowledge. They also used the Chinook canoe and may have manufactured it. They discriminated between two types of canoe, in addition to the Chinook, but it does not appear from McGuff's sketches that these differed in any appreciable way save in size.

The canoe (called *ikni'm?*)⁶⁰ was, according to Mrs. Teio's description, a modified form of the usual shovel-nose. The prow was pointed and sometimes rose above the level of the gunwales, when it might be carved or painted. But the prow was flat underneath like typical shovel-nose examples, not with the sharp vertical cutwater of the Nootka-Chinook form. The stern was brought to a point as well but apparently was not vertical. No mention was made of separate prow and stern pieces set on the gunwales, as in the Nootka-Chinook variety, although it is possible that a separable prow-piece was provided. Two varieties of the Wishram canoe were distinguished by McGuff: *tc!gwa'man*, used on the river where the water is relatively quiet (in contrast to the Chinook canoe as a sea-going craft), measuring twelve to twenty feet in length, with a beam of two to three feet, and *t!la'ma*, (*it!la'na?*), a knock-about craft used on the river and lakes, more slender than the former, large enough for four or five people, yet so small that two persons could carry it.

Canoes of this type were seen by Lewis and Clark in 1805 in the vicinity of Celilo Falls and the Dalles. "On the beach near the Indian huts we observed two canoes of a different shape and size from any we had hitherto seen [i.e., the ordinary shovel-nose of the interior]; one of these we got in exchange for our smallest canoe, giving a hatchet and a few trinkets to the owner, who said he had purchased it from a white man below the falls, by giving him a horse. These canoes are very beautifully made; they are wide in the middle and tapering toward each end, with curious figures carved on the bow. They are thin, but being strengthened by cross bars about an inch in diameter, which are tied with strong pieces of bark through holes in the sides, are able to bear very heavy burdens, and seem calculated to live in the roughest water. . . . The canoes used by these people are, like those already described, built of white cedar or pine, very light, wide in the middle, and tapering towards the ends, the bow being raised and

⁵⁹ Olson, *Adze, Canoe, and House Types*, 18.

⁶⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 39.

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ornamented with carvings of the heads of animals." On another occasion Lewis and Clark differentiated the several types of canoe on the lower river, and state of this type, "the canoes most used by the Columbia Indians, from the Chilluckitt-equaws [just below the Dalles, i.e., White Salmon or Hood River Indians] to the ocean, are about thirty or thirty-five feet long. The bow, which looks more like the stern of our boats, is higher than the other end, and is ornamented with a sort of comb, an inch in thickness, cut out of the same log which forms the canoe, and extending nine or eleven inches from the bowsprit to the bottom of the boat. The stern is nearly rounded off, and gradually ascends to a point. This canoe is very light and convenient, for though it will contain ten or twelve persons, it may be carried with great ease by four."⁶¹

The Nootka-Chinook canoe was used by the Wishram, and possibly even manufactured by them, to judge from McGuff's manner of reference. On the other hand Mrs. Teio insisted that this was used only below the Dalles, although as far upstream as the Cascades and Hood River. Lewis and Clark state that they did not see it above tide-water, that is, below the Cascades.⁶² Inasmuch as McGuff stated that this was used more on the sea, it may have had little or no use in Wishram territory. The Nootka canoe (t^uwi'yε) was described as thirty to fifty feet in length and from four to six feet in breadth.

All types of canoe were hewn from cedar logs, obtained some distance below the Dalles. Mrs. Teio tentatively suggested fir and pine as materials.⁶³ So far as pine (sugar pine?) is concerned, Klamath informants stated that it makes too heavy a canoe. Bark canoes were not made.

They were hewn inside and out with flint "hatchets," according to McGuff who probably meant adzes, then burned smooth over the entire surface. Fir pitch was smeared by some over the canoes so that they would burn evenly. In earlier times canoes were not painted, according to Mrs. Teio; later they were painted black and red inside (like the Nootka canoe), black or blue outside. Some had carved figures of men and animals on the stern and bow, and probably on the sides. A carving of a canoe side, presumably an extra piece attached to the gunwale, is illustrated in Plate 13. This is a portion of a cedar burial canoe picked up on Memaloose Island, the burial place of the Wishram above The Dalles. This portion is eight feet long.⁶⁴

Paddles were ordinarily made of ash (Mrs. Teio said maple) but infrequently of oak wood. They differed in size according to the canoes with which they were used; lengths varied from four to six feet. The width of the blade was uniformly five to eight inches. McGuff's sketch shows the upper end of the handle enlarged transversely to afford a grip, and the tip of the paddle blade deeply notched, like those observed elsewhere on the lower Columbia, as among the Kathlamet.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Hosmer, II, 36, 48, 134.

⁶² Hosmer, II, 134.

⁶³ But on points of this nature, she consistently showed uncertainty and ignorance.

⁶⁴ Found by Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Filloon of The Dalles, Oregon; the illustration was kindly provided by Mr. W. H. Holmes.

⁶⁵ T. N. Strong, *Cathlamet on the Columbia*; Franchère, *Narrative*, 328.

Canoe bailers were made in several sizes of maple, ash, and oak wood. In shape they were said to resemble spoons, probably in that they were provided with handles. Various decorations were carved on them.

Canoes were made by those with special skill, but they needed no supernatural power. As with finishing any big task, a man would feel happy in its completion and give a general feast.

The leader of a canoe party sat in the stern as steersman. Three paddlers had places before him.

TOOLS AND MANUFACTURED ARTICLES

Adzes, Chisels, Wedges, and Knives. The art of woodworking was perhaps developed to the same degree as on Puget Sound, a decidedly second place in comparison with the typical Northwest Coast peoples of British Columbia. We judge that Wishram woodworking could not compare with them either in quantity, finish, or variety of wooden articles. Yet they were undoubtedly superior to all nearby peoples in woodwork. Wishram manufactured dugout canoes, paddles, bailers, wooden bowls, mortars, troughs, ladles, spoons, bows, and cradle-boards. Plank houses were not in common use. On the other hand they did not manufacture a typical utensil of the Northwest Coast, the wooden box.

Adzes, at least small ones, were used in the preliminary roughing out of the object. The Wasco also used small adzes.⁶⁶ If an inference is permissible from the distribution of adzes in northwestern America as Olson has defined it,⁶⁷ we should suspect that the Wishram used the straight adze. "What is evidently an adze of this form is mentioned by Lewis and Clark as occurring in the Lower Columbia region where it seems to have been the only pattern known." This was also the sole type of northwestern California. (There is no data for Oregon). The straight adze has a stone blade in the line of the handle, a straight or slightly curved piece of wood, bone, or horn, where it is lashed against a flattened section at one end. Flint "hatchets" were mentioned by McGuff in describing how canoes were made, but he surely meant adzes.

A flint bladed chisel with a wooden handle was used in gouging and engraving designs. The wooden object was then further finished by scraping with the sharp edge of a flint.

Tree trunks were split with elk antler wedges.⁶⁸

Knives were flints set in deerhorn handles and both single and double edged. These were probably used for skinning, butchering, and as weapons, rather than for wood-working.

Awls and Needles. Awls were used in all sewing on skins and coiled baskets. Sinews were not usually directly inserted in the manner of our cobblers, but a needle was employed. Awls were fashioned of bone or deerhorn, and of flint for basketry. Needles were made of various sizes. The common sewing needle

⁶⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 295.

⁶⁷ Olson, *Adze, Canoe, and House Types*, 13-14.

⁶⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

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was three to eight inches long, provided with a long, sharp point. It was described as similar in shape to the common grainsack needle, hence may have been somewhat curved. A longer needle of the same shape had a diameter of one quarter inch and a length of twelve inches. Somewhat larger needles of this sort were used in sewing reeds together for mats. Thick needles (one quarter to an inch and a quarter [?] in diameter and from four [?] to ten inches long) were used for rough work such as sewing thongs in fish-baskets for handles, to take packstrap ropes, or to lace the basket or bag closed. Needles were made of hard wood (ironwood, dogwood, or oak), dressed by scraping with a sharp flint, and finished by oiling (fish or animal oil), and then being laid away to dry before being used. The informant did not know whether needles were ever made of bone.

Threads for sewing were flax fibers and sinew. Moccasins for winter use were sewn with flax, for summer with sinew, since flax is better able to withstand a wetting. The flax or hemp is *Apocynum cannabinum*.⁶⁹ The sinew was that lying along the spine of a deer and, we may presume, the long leg tendons. Flax fibers and sinews were rolled and twisted to make threads. String or rope was also made of hazel withes.

Pestles and Mortars. Stone pestles were most common, being used for pulverizing dry fish, roots, and berries; wooden pestles were used only for mashing fresh berries. The mortars were solely of wood, although stone bowls cracked by the heat of cooking might be used.

Stone pestles were twelve to fourteen inches long, round in section, tapering from a three inch diameter at the bottom to half that at the top. The lower face was somewhat convex. The upper end was sometimes ornamented by shaping it to resemble a nose, for example. These were made of common or black granite (gabro?), the latter being better material. The stone was placed on a layer of dry dirt, four or five inches thick, to serve as a cushion and prevent it breaking during the pecking process. It was lightly tapped with a sharp-edged fragment of granite, turning it the while to give it cylindrical form. Hollows were fashioned by continuous pecking at one spot.

Mortars were fashioned from the tough roots of the oak. A block was hewn in bucket shape, sixteen inches or less in diameter at the top, tapering to little more than half that diameter at the base, and somewhat less high than broad. The walls were relatively thin. At two points on the rim, opposite each other, handles projected above its general level. These sometimes project beyond the exterior surface of the mortar as squarish bosses. Ornamentation may encircle the mortar near the rim or be confined to the boss-like handles. On one mortar illustrated the ornamentation is the familiar "kerb-schnitt" type of the southern Northwest Coast area (Plate 1).⁷⁰

Bowls, Spoons, and Ladles. All of these were made of wood or horn, but large bowls for cooking were made of stone. Wooden spoons and ladles were

⁶⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

⁷⁰ Boas, *Primitive Art*, 284. Identical mortars from the Wasco are in the Field Museum of Natural History (nos. 88704, 5, 7, 10, 11).

hard wood; ash, maple, oak, and the root of the crab-apple. Their form is shown in Plate 1 and Fig. 3. The bowl was more round than elliptical but sometimes pointed, and quite deep. The handle was curved and usually rose above the level of the spoon. It was carved, with some intention at least of providing a better grip. Others were made of mountain sheep and mountain goat (?) horn. Moun-

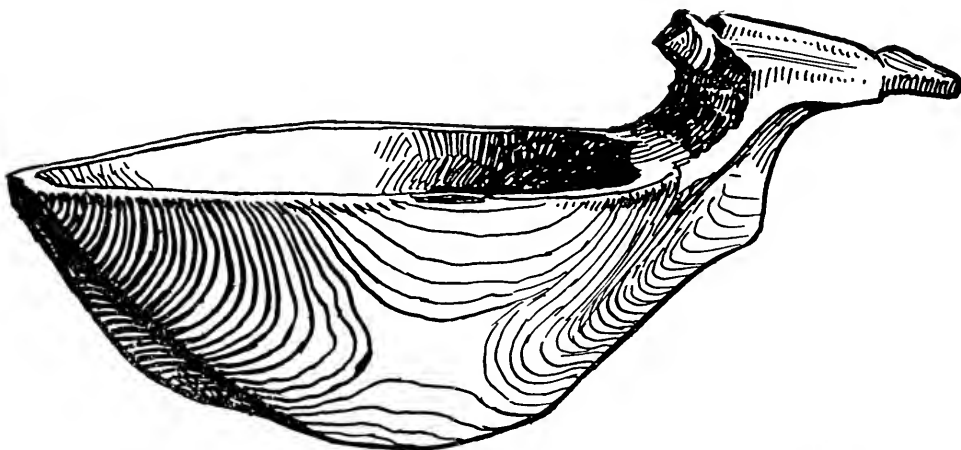


FIG. 3. A Wooden Spoon (specimen in the University of Pennsylvania Museum).

tain sheep horn spoons were not plentiful among the Wishram as the animal lived on Mount Adams well back of their territory. They searched for shed horns on the sheep ranges while gathering huckleberries and considered themselves very lucky if they stumbled on one.⁷¹ Mountain goat horn spoons were described as with elongated bowls and short straight handles, which would conform to their natural shape.

The horns were boiled until soft, the handle bent to shape, and the bowl formed over a spherical or oval stone to take shape as it cooled. When it was set to shape, carved ornament was added. Horn bowls could not, of course, be used with hot foods, but it was stated that horn spoons could be so used.

Stone bowls were made of granite. The hollow was made first since the stone would withstand hard pecking while still a solid block. When the hollow was completed the exterior was dressed. Large bowls of this type were used for cooking by the familiar process of dropping hot stones into the food.

Blankets. Rabbit-skin blankets may have been used for robes as well as bedding. Long strips were cut spirally from dried (?) rabbit skins to furnish warps. These were wefted (presumably twined) with cords made of a grass which grows three feet high, rolled into string on the thigh. The Wishram did not weave blankets of mountain goat or other wool, and our informant did not know whether such articles were ever made of sagebrush or cedar bark.

⁷¹ Strong states that the mountain sheep, now extinct in this area, must once have been found there, since it was described from Mount Adams in 1829. Lewis and Clark describe the mountain goat in the area but not the sheep. It does not seem to have been common in the region. (Strong and Schenck, *Petroglyphs*, 80).

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Mats. These were made of tule (and other reeds?) and of a grass mentioned below. Tule mats formed the covering of mat lodges and the under layer of the roofing on earthlodges. Smaller mats were spread over the floor of the house and on the benches as mattresses. The lodge coverings were long tule mats, having the width of the tule, three to six feet, and lengths from six to twenty feet. These were sewn with long curved wooden needles carrying flax cords. McGuff stated that only flax was used in sewing mats. Nettle cord was not mentioned by our informants, but it is conceivable that it was used in twined mats.

A grass mat, called itcxic or watcxtc, was used for drying fish. This was made of waqenɛkc, a grass resembling elk grass but growing in bunches on the edges of bodies of still water. (It is one to two feet in height, with sharp edges, and stiff when dried).

Packstrap. Prior to the acquisition of horses, most carrying of loads was performed by women. Dogs were not used for packing nor with a travois. In fact the travois is still unknown. Of recent years poles were tied on each side of a gentle horse to be dragged to a summer camp, e.g.

Loads were carried on the back by a packstrap passing over the forehead or in front of the shoulders. The load rested rather high on the small of the back, so distributed that two-thirds of the weight was borne by the back, the balance by the forehead band. The use of a basket hat by women alone, who were the packers, confirms Kroeber's suggestion of a functional relationship between the hat and the packstrap.⁷² Fish, e.g., were carried in soft baskets of two hundred pounds capacity to which the strap was tied, from the river bank up the steep slope to the drying house. Wood and other articles were carried in the same fashion. Women of relatively slight build (130 to 150 pounds weight) are known to have carried in this way some forty to fifty blueback salmon. As these average about five pounds apiece, the total load was 200 to 250 pounds. A man might pack from 150 to 300 pounds, a strong individual being able to carry two big bucks on his shoulders.

Packstraps were formerly braided cords or deerskin straps. More recently a woven strap displaced these. The cord affair was made of twisted or rolled wild flax fibers, three strands of which were so braided together as to be wider at the midpoint of its length. This wider portion rested on the forehead. In a packstrap of deerskin the central wide segment was a piece separate from the thongs, which were sewed to it. Such straps might be fifteen feet long, with a central section a foot to eighteen inches long.

The woven packstrap was introduced in Mrs. Teio's girlhood, about 1875. She does not know where the new style came from; it was adopted by all the residents of the Yakima Reservation. One specimen seen had a total length of five feet; the central portion, fourteen inches long and nearly two inches wide, was continuous with the warps of the tie cords. These warps were eleven strands of commercial cord. The warps were simply braided for two feet at each end; then for an inch or so the warps were divided into two bundles which were

⁷² Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 807.

braided separately; the central section was wefted with commercial yarn. This was woven by twining two yarns continuously from right to left, the whole warp being turned over at the beginning of each new pick in order that the directions of twining remain the same. A decorative effect was introduced by using varied colored yarns in narrow bands across the warps, the intervening spaces being neutral colored yarn. These colored bands were in order, brown, red, black, black, red, brown.

Baskets and Bags. These must have been the most numerous articles of a household, used for a variety of purposes in transporting and storing food and other articles. The list of the several kinds we have at hand may not exhaust the varieties. Further, the twined baskets are so flexible and so closely resemble the flat twined bags, and are at the same time so variable in size and shape, that it is not easy to separate the forms as given in our notes.

The baskets collected by Sapir are both twined and coiled, the bags twined. McGuff separated these as (1) ak!wa'tq, a small twined basket with circular base, so flexible that the sides may meet like a wallet; (2) sik!anxat, a twined wallet-like bag; (3) il!u'nɛpac, a bag like the last but in coarse open-twine, and perhaps always larger; (4) at!u'ksai, a coiled circular basket with a coiled base; (5) ick!a'le, possibly the same technique as the small twined basket (1) but certainly larger. A word for a small basket, apq!wɛnx, was also recorded by Sapir. Mrs. Teio named only two varieties (or forms) of baskets: ɪxk!a'banōx, a flat bag in coarse open-twine used for carrying loads of fish, probably the same as il!u'nɛpac (3), and ɪslai'pās, a circular twined basket for storing pulverized salmon, possibly ak!wa'tq (1). How far these names refer to technical differences and differences of use, we do not know. In addition a conical basket hat ats!a'xelai'a was worn by women. This was twined of white mountain grass. The Wishram were said to be among the chief producers of these hats in the Plateau.⁷³ Water buckets were tightly woven of cedar roots, probably twined.

All these were made by the Wishram with the possible exception of the coiled baskets (4). This was uniformly referred to as "a Klickitat berry basket," which may mean that it was traded from the Klickitat or was made in imitation of a similar Klickitat form. The type of basket was common throughout coastal and interior Washington. The Klickitat also state that neither Wishram nor Wasco made coiled baskets.⁷⁴

All of these types served indifferently for transportation and storage. There was some differentiation, however. Smaller twined circular baskets of capacities of one-half to two gallons were used in the mountains when picking acorns, pine nuts, or digging roots. Larger baskets of this sort of two and a half gallons and more were primarily storage baskets. Provisions for which they had more concern, such as dried camas and peyahi (a bitter macaroni-like root dug in the mountains), were preserved in the twined wallets. A basket called ɪslai'pās, possibly only the common twined circular basket, a foot in diameter and two deep,

⁷³ Haeberlin, *et al.*, *Coiled Basketry*, 139.

⁷⁴ Haeberlin *et al.*, *loc. cit.*, 136.

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was used to store pulverized dried salmon. The basket was lined with dried salmon skin and its contents covered with more of the same. Coarsely woven open-twine baskets, quite flat and provided with handles, some two feet deep, were the primary carrying baskets. Salmon were carried in these, as many as seven at a time, with their tails protruding from the top.

The twined circular baskets were sometimes made and used in pairs (with identical decoration?). This may be a transfer from parfleches which were usually made in pairs (but we must remark, not by the Wishram at all).

Both twined circular baskets (1) and twined wallets (2) were made in simple twine. An examination of the photographs of specimens available fails to show any use of diagonal twine or any certain use of three-strand twine stitches on the sides of the fabrics. The twined baskets, however, were begun at the base with crossed warps twined in bundles, the number of warps in each bundle being reduced at intervals, using diagonal twine (crossing two warps) which sometimes extended as far as the edge of the base (see Plate 4). The wallets were presumably made as among the Klamath, by twining weft strands through the warps at their midpoints, then continuing these across one half the warps and then the other half continuously. This produces a flat bag closed on three sides (Plate 5).

Both twined fabrics were made of strips of the bark of willow, cedar, and bearberry; sometimes of a tall grass growing in the mountain lakes. Modern examples have warps of unraveled commercial rope. The process of their manufacture was considered a slow one: an expert could make an undecorated basket of the size of a five pound pail in a minimum of two days, but if it required decoration, this was increased to four. A wallet was even slower in its manufacture since it was twined more finely, tightly, and regularly. Such baskets ranged in size from one-half gallon capacity to five, most commonly near the lower limit. The wallets measured ten by twelve inches, fourteen by twenty-four, for example.

The edge of such baskets and bags is provided with a binding of buckskin or cloth in a majority of the specimens. This is furnished with thong loops for handles in the case of the basket, and with a draw-string, or loops to take a draw-string, in the bags.

The ick!a'le was a large circular basket, known to us only from McGuff's sketches. Since it was rather elaborately decorated and said to be woven evenly and tightly, we surmise that was in twine weave. The size was given as a bushel and a half and again as of five and a half gallons capacity. These were made of cedar roots and elk grass.

Coarse open-twine bags were used for burden baskets. To judge by the single photograph at hand (Plate 7) they were made in essentially the same way as the smaller twined wallets. Mrs. Teio described such burden baskets (called ick!a'banöx by her) as having a rope inserted in the sides, in some fashion not clear, terminating at the rim in handles to which the pack-strap was fastened. (Possibly a rope was turned through the warps, or caught in the twining, when the bag was begun and its ends caught in the twining on the sides as extra warps).

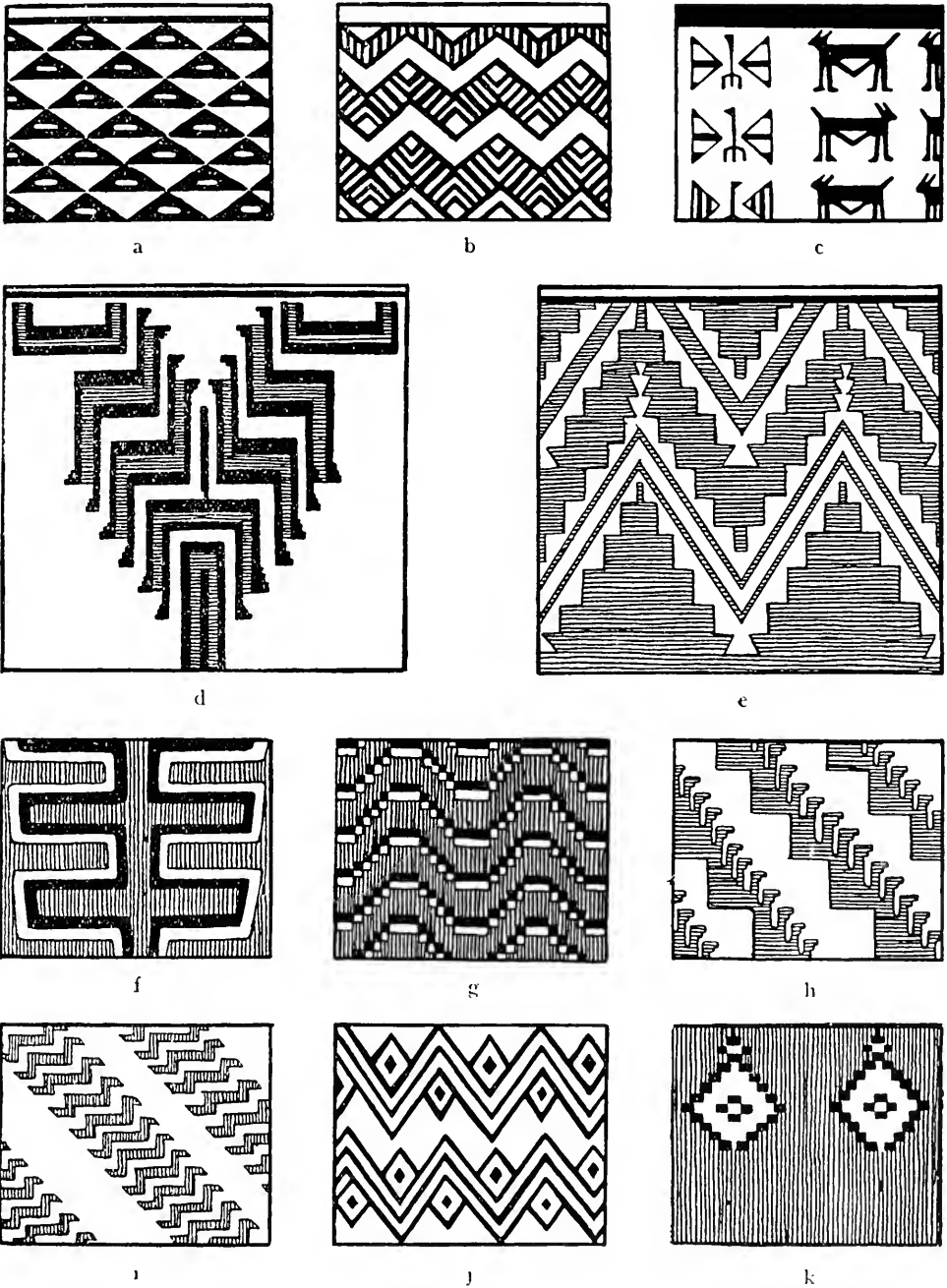


FIG. 4. Design patterns named by the Wishram from Klickitat, Lillooet, and Thompson baskets (American Museum of Natural History, a-c, h, i, Klickitat; f, g, k, Lillooet; j, Thompson).

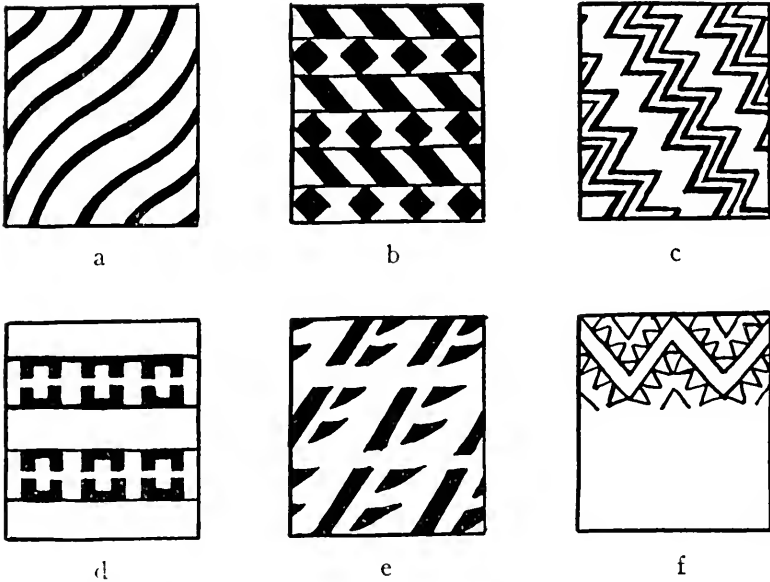


FIG. 5. Wishram design units redrawn from native sketches (a-d, twined baskets; e, flat bag; f, coiled basket).

or a single line are human teeth (Fig. 5, d; Pl. 3, c); a series of oblique angles are fish teeth (Fig. 5, c); oblique lines with two recurring triangles represent the (open?) jaw of a rattler with its protruding fangs (Fig. 5, e). The other cases of teeth are less obvious, but may be related conceptually to these fish and snake teeth by reason of their oblique parallel lines (Fig. 5, b; Pl. 3, d). Hazel withes are shown by long parallel oblique lines (Pl. 2, d; Fig. 5, a) which may represent the parted fibers of the twisted withe, and by parallel zigzags crossing others (Fig. 4, j) which may be interpreted as twisted withes. Perhaps inevitably because of its importance in their life, parts of fish appear in several designs; fish teeth (Fig. 5, c); zigzag lines as fish gills (Pl. 3, a); an elaborate enclosure as a salmon stomach (Fig. 4, f); and a stepped diagonal with pendants as sturgeon roe before spawning (Fig. 4, h) which, for all we know, it may resemble. A series of large spots are those of a fawn skin (Fig. 4, a). Small lozenges and lozenges containing crosses (as pupils?) are eyes (Fig. 5, b; Fig. 4, k). A quite different design (Pl. 3, b), also called eyes, is difficult to understand unless we hazard that the lids are shown with eyelashes above and below. The most variable set of designs are those known as steps (Fig. 4, d, g, i), yet the representation is clear. The design unit in all three cases seems to be a brief stepped line. A series of steps called a loose fitting dovetail joint (Fig. 4, e) does indeed look like the kerfs of such a joint partly separated, yet this might also have been called "steps."

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It will be observed that the habit of naming small design units is identical with the case of the parfleche decorations. Their names for the complex forms on the exterior of the bags were avoided and only the simple disconnected elements on the side flaps named.

It may be noted that a single word *idakli'nułmax*, is used indifferently of painted and basket designs.⁷⁷

Beaded bags are a modern innovation in imitation of Plains beadwork. These are small handbags made largely for tourist traffic. Two with decoration resembling that of the twined baskets and wallets are shown in Figure 6. More recently even these have been displaced by floral designs, ultimately derived from the Great Lakes region, and animal forms in lurid colors.

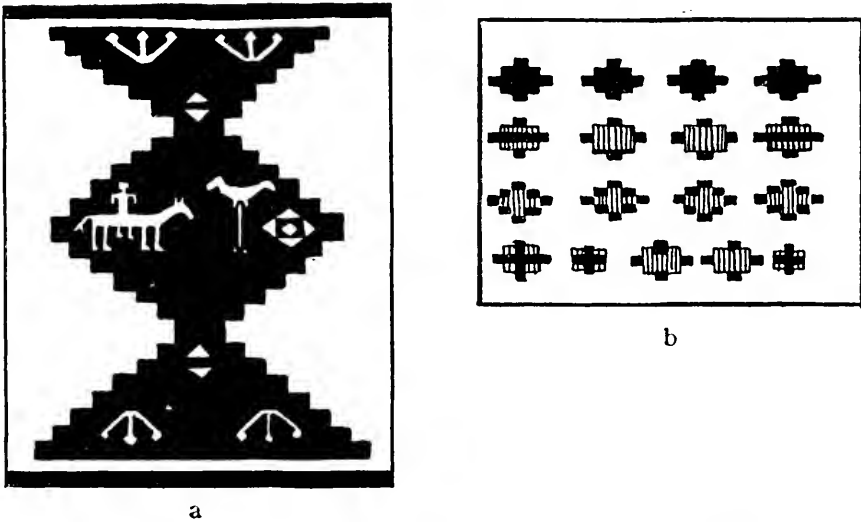


FIG. 6. Wishram beaded bags with old-style decoration (American Museum of Natural History).

Parfleches. These folded envelope-like rawhide cases were used for storage and as pack-bags on horses as by the Plains Indians. They were not manufactured by the Wishram nor by other peoples now on the Yakima Reservation (Yakima, Klickitat, etc.) but were traded from the Nez Percé.⁷⁸ There is no information as to whether the Wishram purposely selected among the Nez Percé patterns.

Designs elements were named. In addition to the interpretations to be given directly, McGuff stated that some elements were called buffalo eyes and elk eyes. We do not know if the names were the invention of the Wishram or derived, like the parfleches, from other sources.

⁷⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 142.

⁷⁸ McGuff's statement to this effect confirms our information recorded elsewhere (Spier, *Parfleche Decoration*, 95). Farrand also noted of certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History, "Yakima, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture." The Klickitat and Yakima sometimes made them according to Haerberlin *et al.* (*Coiled Basketry*, 357, 360).

Plate 9 shows the exterior of a parfleche when folded and the interior revealing the decoration on the side flaps. The colors of the exterior are red, green, blue, and yellow; of the interior green and yellow. The figures on the side flaps were interpreted as people. Both parfleches of Plate 10 have the same color scheme as that of Plate 9. Both bear decoration on the side flaps; that on *b* consists of pairs of parallel lines transverse to the flap including a series of diagonal lines. This was said also to represent people. It will be observed then that there was consistency in the use of the design name. The parfleche of Plate 11 is a very old and faded specimen of buffalo calf skin. The original colors now appear as red, green (black?), and yellow. This was said to have been painted with native color-stuffs, not with commercial pigments like the other specimens figured. The black paint was made of buffalo blood mixed with pitch and "other stuff" (charcoal?), and either burned in or applied while hot. The side flaps are decorated with figures representing fishes. From McGuff's sketch of this, these are lozenges with serrated edges. A series of other parfleches are shown in Plate 12. Figure 7 shows a series of parfleche designs redrawn by Miss Bon-sall from sketches by McGuff. Only three of these show decorated side flaps

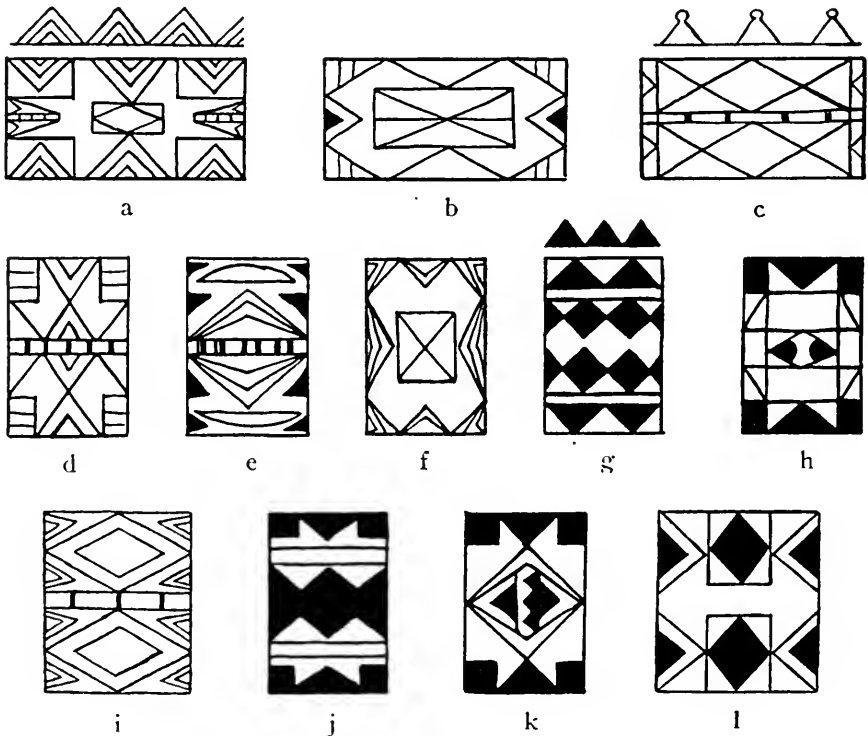


FIG. 7. Wishram parfleche designs, redrawn from native sketches (The decoration of only one flap is shown; decoration of the side flaps is shown above, where it occurs).

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in the original sketches. Again it was only the isolated designs on the side flaps that were named: those of a were called arrowpoints; c, people (as in Plate 9); g, mountains.⁷⁹

Bows and Arrows. These were used for small game as late as 1870 but only meagre descriptions are now available. McGuff observed that ordinarily bows had so little range that they were of no great value in still hunting, dependence being placed rather on clubbing deer floundering in deep snow, yet that strong men wielded bows of greater range. This suggests the possibility that both self and sinewbacked bows were used.

The direct information at hand is that bows were sinewbacked (sinew-lined, in Mason's terminology). These were made of oak or dogwood, with a length of about four feet. They were straight, a third broader at the middle than at the tips, and lacked the constricted grip of the Northwest Coast types. The backing of layers of fresh sinew was applied over the outside of the bow to within six inches of each end. When dry it became taut and added materially to the bow's strength. The bowstring was released from one end until wanted for use, so that the bow-stave would remain straight.

Bows were held either horizontally or perpendicularly when shooting.

Arrows were made of any hard wood. They had diameters of three-eighths to a half-inch, lengths from fourteen inches to two feet. Stone heads were inserted deeply in the split shaft, fastened with sinew, and the wrappings smoothed over with pitch. Arrows for small game and birds lacked heads. The feathering consisted of three vanes. These were halves of large split feathers, ordinarily those of the mountain hawk, for war arrows eagle feathers. The head of a war arrow was poisoned with the contents of a rattlesnake poison sac. The outlines of a few stone heads were sketched by McGuff, presumably some found on the old village site. They ranged in length from three-quarters to two inches. All are tanged and, with a single exception having acute barbs, have rounded barb shoulders.

A peculiar type of war arrow was described by McGuff. This had a multiple barbed point, which he described as composed of two to four barbed flint heads, each one set into the barb of the preceding. The binding was of fresh or moistened sinew, which on drying would become very taut, coated with pitch. Yet the binding need not be very rigid since the purpose of the jointed head was to have segments of it remain in the wound. Such is his description as he understood it from an old woman, but his sketch suggests rather a multiple barbed bone head or a stone head set in a barbed bone foreshaft. Such forms have been described by Mason from western Washington, the Columbia River region, and northwestern California.⁸⁰ It is quite conceivable that this barbed bone head or foreshaft was so deeply notched that it was indeed easily snapped off. This type of arrow was usually used by war chiefs, and never for game. It is called *aqxa'qusa* after a huge cannibal woman *Akxa'qusa* who descended on the Wishram village and ate all its inhabitants.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of parfleche decoration in this area see Spier, *Parfleche Decoration*.

⁸⁰ Mason, *North American Bows*, pl. XLIX, fig. 5; pl. L, figs. 5-7.

Tanning. Hides of large animals were valuable. These included deer and elk skins, and the pelts of bear, timber wolf, coyote, mountain goat, and raccoon.

A deer skin was cut free of the carcass back of the ears and at the knees, leaving the tail attached to the hide.

The hair could be scraped off immediately if the hide was fresh. Otherwise it had to be soaked in water for one or more days depending on how long it had been dry. It was bundled up and weighted down with stones in the creek. It was then slung over a smoothed slanting pole, perhaps five feet long and six to twelve inches in diameter, which rested against a convenient tree. The hide was caught between the edge of the pole and the tree. The scraper was a deer or bear rib rubbed to a smooth edge on a stone. Both hair and pigmented layer were removed. A stone scraper held directly in the hand was used to remove excess tissue and fat from the flesh side.

The hide was then immersed in a solution of warm water and deer brains, contained in a wooden trough, long enough (overnight) to become soft and pliable. This trough was made from a maple or ash log, and was two to four feet long, eight to fourteen inches wide at the top, six to twelve inches deep. Only sufficient brain was put in the water to make it slightly soapy. Brain that had been prepared was much better for the purpose than the fresh article. Deer brain was set aside to rot a little, when it became quite oily. It was sometimes placed in a small flat bag between sticks placed cribwise and hung close to the fire to hasten the extraction of the oil. When the hide was well soaked it was rubbed between the hands, wrung out, and hung in the sun to dry for a day. It was soaked a second night in the same solution, rubbed, and again wrung dry. To wring a skin, the legs, neck and tail were tucked in, the whole placed around a post, and the ends twisted together with the hands. (A stick was not used as a lever to twist it, as elsewhere.)

A frame was constructed on which to stretch and rub the hide. This consisted of two poles set upright, bearing two crosspieces tied to them. Holes were punched along the edges of the hide with a bone awl and a strip of skin or rawhide thong was threaded through them. Another thong passing through this one was used to lace the hide in the frame. It was then rubbed vigorously in all directions with a special instrument. This was a beveled stick, or more commonly a stone scraper or deer-horn wedge set in the end of a stick. The flat flint scraper had a blunt, smooth edge; the angle of the horn wedge was quite acute. The wooden handle was two to three feet long, two inches or more in diameter; the blade, projecting four to six inches, was fastened with a sinew lashing and pitch. It was held in the hands, not under the arm. As the hide was worked on it grew slack and the lacing was drawn up. Of course, the more the hide was worked the larger and thinner it got. By this means it could be worked to the thickness desired.

Small skins could be tanned just as well in another fashion dispensing with the frame. The rubbing stick was set vertically near a fire, and the skin stretched and rubbed over the end bearing the scraper blade.

Smoke tanning seems generally to have been added to this process. A well

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smoked skin would not spoil if wet; it could be wrung out and rubbed soft. Skins intended for moccasins were especially well smoked. A hole of a foot diameter and as deep as the arm was filled with well rotted wood of indifferent varieties which would produce a dense slow smoke. McGuff states that the edges of the hide were pinned down around the hole with small sticks which were then brought together and tied above so as to support the hide. Mrs. Teio had it that the skin was sewed down the side and tied about the neck to form a bag, which was then hung from a tripod, the edges being weighted down. It was first smoked with the flesh side in so that the carbon would strike well into the pores until the hide was yellow. It was then turned inside out and the process repeated. McGuff set the time for smoking at about two hours. The tripod appears to be a recent device substituted for the dome-shaped frame after Mrs. Teio was grown, perhaps about 1880. This frame was made of willow twigs and over it the hide was flung. Any small holes appearing in the finished hide were sewn with sinew from the back of a deer.

Musical Instruments. These were only moderately developed among the Wishram, in which they were one with other North American tribes. Drums of three varieties, the notched rasp or rattle, a deer hoof rattle, and possibly the flute (or flageolet) constituted the total.

The commonest drum was a plank laid before a row of drummers on which they beat with billets, some eighteen inches long. This thumping device was used in a shaman's curing practise and in the hand game.

The drumming accompaniment to the songs of spirit dances was furnished by a horizontal pole slung from the rafters by a rope at each end. This could then be thumped against a plank set upright in the earthen floor before it.

The only true drum known to the Wishram was the hand drum of tambourine type. Longer two-headed drums were not known. It may be that the hand drum is of relatively recent introduction among these people since it figured largely in the dances of the Smohallah cult. It was also used, to be sure, as a signal to call a meeting of the council of chiefs, and again to beat out the rhythm of war dances, although here the notched rasp seems to have been the proper instrument.

The hand drum was a hoop formed of a flat oak stick, two to six inches in width and one to three feet in diameter. It was provided with one or two skin heads; the latter being, of course, a more valuable article. The head was of deer or bear skin, and in later days horsehide, soaked before it was stretched over the frame so that on shrinking it would be drawn taut. It was fastened on by three thongs which crossed the open face, providing a grip. The head was sometimes decorated with a star (?), etc.; perhaps only those used in Smohallah dances bore decorations. The drumstick was a straight piece of dry wood, wound about at one end with cloth. Small drums were held in the hand; larger ones were set on the ground, where several drummers crowded around.

The notched rasp or rattle was the familiar instrument of the Basin tribes, a hardwood stick along which a series of semicircular notches were cut. It was rasped with another stick rubbed up and down along the notches.

The deer hoof rattle was used by shamans in curing and in the war dance. Deer feet were soaked in boiling water for a few minutes, when the hoofs could be readily detached. Holes were punched anywhere in them; they were threaded on a cord and set away to dry. When twenty-five or thirty had been collected, they were threaded on a sinew cord and attached to one end of a six-inch wooden handle. The name of the rattle, aq!a'nafała, was also the word for deer hoof. This was used by the Wasco in the war dance.

HOUSES

Houses took two forms; a semisubterranean earth lodge primarily for winter use, and a mat lodge. In addition, Mrs. Teio described a plank house, but McGuff stated that only two forms were used. Besides these dwellings there were small sweatlodges.

Generically houses are itq^uli; a winter house is it-tca'xulkxt, whether above or below ground. The earth lodge is specifically watce'lɿ (also a root cellar) and the mat lodge ittcagwa'yakxut.

The semisubterranean earth lodge was a hemispherical superstructure built over a circular pit. The size varied with the number of inmates, from one to half a dozen families. Gunyer mentioned a pit sixteen or more feet in diameter, dug out to a depth of four feet. McGuff set the depth at six or more feet. The framework of the superstructure was of poles, covered with tule mats, grass, and dirt, or with cedar bark. Egress was by a hole in the roof reached by a ladder. (The frame was not described. We may assume that, like the Klamath, Middle Columbia Salish, and Thompson houses to the south and north, it consisted of four or two central posts bearing ridge poles on which rested others extending from the margins of the pit, rather than a series of poles extending directly from the margins to meet in an apex.) Low bed platforms extended around the walls, under which dried foodstuffs were stored. The floor and sides of the pit were lined with mats. There is no suggestion of the use of such lodges as men's club houses as in California.

The semisubterranean lodge was seen by Lewis and Clark in April, 1806, among the Weocksockwillacums (? łmié'qsôq wi'lɿam, White Salmon Indians) at Canoe River just below the Dalles. "Those [houses] which are inhabited are on the surface of the earth, and built in the same shape as those near the rapids [the Cascades]; but there are others, at present evacuated, which are completely under ground. They are sunk about eight feet deep, and covered with strong timbers, and several feet of earth in a conical form. On descending by means of a ladder through a hole in the top, which answers the double purpose of a door and a chimney, we found that the house consisted of a single room, nearly circular and about sixteen feet in diameter."⁸¹

The mat lodge was wholly above ground. It was rectangular in plan and provided with a gable roof. A sketch by McGuff suggests that one slope of the gable was quite short and abrupt; the other slope occupied nearly the entire width of the roof. Or he may have meant that the roof had only one pitch

⁸¹ Hosmer, II, 253.

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in the manner of the shed-like houses of Puget Sound. The house was rounded at each end, the poles at these places presumably leaning inward to the apex of the gable. Small fir poles were tied together in fashioning the frame. The entire frame was covered with long tule mats or cedar bark, both inside and out on the walls, but outside only on the roof. Openings were left for smoke holes above each fireplace and for doorways. The mats were laid so as to overlap and shed the rain. They were so arranged that the tules stood vertically. Sometimes poles were laid on the mat covering to hold it in place. Such houses measured up to forty feet in length, having one to four fireplaces, with a width of twelve feet, and stood ten feet high at the ridge, five feet at the eaves.⁸²

Lewis and Clark mention seeing such mat lodges at the village of the Skilloot (iła'xluit, Wishram) at the Dalles (April 19, 1806): "Since we left them last autumn they have removed their village a few hundred yards lower down the river, and have exchanged the cellars in which we then found them for more pleasant dwellings on the surface of the ground. These are formed by sticks, and covered with mats and straw, and so large that each is the residence of several families."⁸³

If the house was small, containing a single family, the entrance was in the end, and according to McGuff's sketch, at one side of the end. A long house had a doorway on the side for each family. By way of a door, a mat with cross-sticks sewed top and bottom was tied in place above the opening. It was not fastened at the bottom. Windbreaks (mats?) were sometimes placed to windward of the smoke holes to prevent the wind blowing in.

A large section at the rear of the mat lodge was given over to the racks on which fish were hung to dry. The house was tightly covered so that no sunlight could reach the fish. This portion had no smoke holes as it was desired to confine the smoke there to hasten the drying, although another informant said that fish were not deliberately smoked.

Such houses had bed platforms, three feet or more above the ground, extending around all four walls save as interrupted by the doorway. Or a single large sleeping platform, six feet above the ground, occupied one end. They never slept on the ground within doors. The desire was to have the fire between the doorway and the bed, which could be conveniently arranged in a small house with a single entrance, but how the several parts were arranged when a section of the house was given over to fish drying was not outlined to us.

Small mats covered the floor except at the fireplaces. These were swept off as necessity demanded. The fire was confined in a shallow pit, not rimmed in with stones. Every morning the fireplace was cleaned out and water sprinkled there. Beds were made of mats or other soft articles such as bear skins, or buffalo skins obtained from the Nez Percé in exchange for salmon. The covering was of blankets. The whole was cleaned, rolled up, and stowed away in the morning. Bedding may have been placed in a tent outside.

⁸² For an illustration of a similar house see McWhorter, *The Crime Against the Yakimas*.

⁸³ Hosmer, II, 260.

The mats covering the lodge had the width of the tule length, three to six feet, and lengths varying from six to fifteen or twenty feet. The tules were sewn together side by side with grass (flax?) cords piercing them at intervals of a hand's breadth. The cords were two-strand, rolled together on the thigh.

At the end of the fish drying season in August, the covering of the mat houses was rolled up and stored away until they returned from hunting and berry picking in the mountains.

The plank house described by Mrs. Teio was presumably rectangular and gable or shed roofed like those of the coast. The frame may have been like that of the mat lodge. The broad planks were tied vertically to the frame. The roof was probably of mats, not planks. For the planks, they went down river to the vicinity of Mount Adams where broad slabs, a foot or even two across, could be riven from the cedar trees. Such houses were described as warmer than the mat lodges, which suggests that they had some use in winter.

Lewis and Clark describe plank houses as though they were the only type in the Wishram village (undoubtedly, from the description of its location, Nixlu'idix at Spedis) which they saw in October, 1805, yet the following year they mention "cellars" at this place. "The houses, which are the first wooden buildings we have seen since leaving the Illinois country, are nearly equal in size, and exhibit a very singular appearance. A large hole twenty feet wide and thirty in length, is dug to the depth of six feet. The sides are then lined with split pieces of timber, rising just above the surface of the ground, which are smoothed to the same width by burning, or shaved with small iron axes. These timbers are secured in their erect position by a pole stretched along the side of the building near the eaves, and supported on a strong post fixed at each corner. The timbers at the gable ends rise gradually higher [to an apex], the middle pieces being the broadest. At the top of these [at the apex] is a sort of semi-circle, made to receive a ridge-pole the whole length of the house, propped by an additional post in the middle, and forming the top of the roof. From this ridge-pole to the eaves of the house are placed a number of small poles or rafters, secured at each end by fibres of the cedar. On these poles, which are connected by small transverse bars of wood, is laid a covering of the white cedar, or *arbor vitæ* [bark?], kept on by the strands of the cedar fibres; but a small distance along the whole length of the ridge-pole is left uncovered, for the purpose of light and permitting the smoke to pass through. The roof thus formed has a descent about equal to that common amongst us, and near the eaves is perforated with a number of small holes, made most probably to discharge their arrows in case of an attack. The only entrance is by a small door at the gable end, cut out of the middle piece of timber, twenty-nine and a half inches high above the earth. Before this hole is hung a mat, and on pushing it aside and crawling through, the descent is by a small wooden ladder, made in the form of those used amongst us. One half of the inside is used as a place of deposit for their dried fish, of which there are large quantities stored away, and which with a few baskets of berries form the only family provisions; the other half adjoining the door remains for the accommodation of the family. On each

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side are arranged near the walls small beds of mats placed on little scaffolds or bedsteads, raised from eighteen inches to three feet from the ground, and in the middle of the vacant space is the fire, or sometimes two or three fires, when, as is indeed usually the case, the house contains three families." At a village a few miles below they saw "there were figures of men, birds, and different animals, which were cut and painted on the boards which form the sides of the room, and though the workmanship of these uncouth figures was very rough, they were as highly esteemed by the Indians as the finest frescoes of more civilized people."⁸⁴

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Our information on clothing does not reach back to clearly aboriginal days. While men were credited with simply a breech-clout, a sleeveless vest, and fur robes, which are aboriginal enough, the woman's costume was given as a long skin dress, leggings, and moccasins, that is, full Plains costume. But it seems unlikely that Plains dress was introduced among them prior to that strong infiltration of Plains traits in the whole area which began subsequent to 1750. If we are to hazard what the costume may have been in earlier times, judging by what is known of neighbors north and south, women's garb was as scanty as men's, consisting solely of a kilt or apron of fringes or fibers, or a skin, pendant from a belt, possibly in the form of a breech-clout, plus upper garments like those of men.

Lewis and Clark describe the dress of the people above the Cascades as similar to that seen in the vicinity of the Dalles. "Their dress, also, consisting of robes or skins of wolves, deer, elk, and wild-cat, is made nearly after the same model; their hair is worn in plaits down each shoulder, and round their neck is put a strip of some skin with the tail of the animal hanging down over the breast." They noted of the Weocksockwillacum (probably White Salmon Indians) at Canoe River just below the Dalles, that they differed from the Indian of the Cascades in dress: "the chief distinction in dress being a few leggings and moccasins, which we find here like those worn by the Chopunnish [Nez Percé]." At the Skilloot iġa'xluit, (Wishram) village at the Dalles they remarked in April, 1806: "They are also much better clad than any of the natives below, or than they were themselves last autumn;⁸⁵ the dress of the men consists generally of leggings, moccasins, and large robes, and many of them wear shirts in the same form used by the Chopunnish [Nez Percé] and Shoshonees, highly ornamented, as well as the leggings and moccasins, with porcupine quills. Their modesty is protected by the skin of a fox or some other animal drawn under a girdle and hanging in front like a narrow apron. The dress of the women differs but little from that worn near the rapids [the Cascades], and both sexes wear the hair over the forehead as low as the eyebrows, with large locks cut

⁸⁴ Hosmer, II, 40, 47.

⁸⁵ A. B. Lewis interprets this as evidence of the introduction of Plains clothing at this date, but it is just as likely to represent seasonal variation (*Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, 188).

square at the ears, and the rest hanging in two queues in front of the body. The robes are made principally of the skins of deer, elk, bighorn, some wolf and buffalo, while the children use the skins of the large gray squirrel. The buffalo is procured from the nations higher up the river, who occasionally visit the Missouri; indeed, the greater portion of their apparel is brought by the nations to the northwest, who come to trade for pounded fish, copper, and beads."⁸⁶

Pelts of various animals were used in winter; bear, raccoon, deer, wolf, coyote, and mountain goat, all deemed valuable. Summer costumes were of tanned hides, such as deer and mountain goat. Moccasins were primarily for winter use; very few made use of them in summer.

Breech-clouts were made of fur, such as raccoon, and were of small size.⁸⁷ Winter garments of this nature, made of bear skin, were broad in the seat. A mat-like affair of tules, fashioned in (open?) twine, was worn in the snow for warmth. Having a broad seat it added considerable protection in slipping and sliding over the snow-clad hills. Leggings of fur and dressed hide were fastened to the breech-clout. The sleeveless shirt or vest was made of coyote or raccoon skins. This was described explicitly only as a man's garment. Shirts of the Plains type were not known originally. A recorded word (wa'cēmχ) for a beaded ornament of buffalo-skin tied to the middle of the blanket used as a robe suggests that the robes were decorated in the familiar Plains style. This ornament was attached to the blanket so as to lie on the middle of the back. This was presumably the band bearing circular bosses attached to or painted on Plains robes and known to occur in this area at least among the Klamath and Nez Percé.⁸⁸

Caps were made of fur (for winter use alone?); for example, from two head skins of coyotes. Mittens were made of coyote pelt and mufflers for the neck of the same.

The women's dress was the characteristic long garment of Plains women, but showing those local features typical of the northwesterly tribes. It hung to midcalf from the shoulders, with cape-like extensions to the elbow open below, and the body of the dress itself open under the arms as far as the midribs. Two buckskins were used in its manufacture, one before and another behind, sewn together along the shoulders and down the arms, leaving only a brief hole for the neck. Little gores were inserted near the bottom in each side in order to make the dress flare. (In answer to a leading question, the informant stated that the skins were probably hung with the tail end at the top, which is the Plains method). The sleeves were slit into heavy fringes which hung below the arms. The lower margin of the dress was probably also fringed a little. Little thongs were inserted in rows on the lower part of the skirt as further fringes; sometimes these had each a bead strung on them. A heavy beaded yoke was added crossing the

⁸⁶ Hosmer, II, 52, 254, 260.

⁸⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

⁸⁸ Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians*, 218. Klamath specimens, skin bands bearing circular areas of beadwork, are in the collection of the Field Museum (nos. 61985, 6).

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shoulders and extending down on breast and back. The dress was gathered in with a beaded belt.

Conical metal jingles were attached to the dance costumes of both men and women. It was said that in earlier times these were made of horn or bone.

Women's leggings were also of Plains type. They reached from below the ankles to the knees and were beaded over their entire surface.

A basket hat was worn by women alone. This had the form of a truncated cone; its upper flat face was four inches in diameter, and the height eight to ten inches. It was twined of white mountain grass and decorated.⁸⁹

Moccasins of a single type were worn by both men and women. These were not of the type in common use on the Yakima Reservation today (1924), a one-piece affair,⁹⁰ but had a seam up the toe meeting a U-shaped piece on the instep. In back it conformed to the modern type, with a seam up the back and a little tab extending at the heel (a single tab, whereas the modern moccasins have two). It lacked the ankle flaps of the modern form.⁹¹ Beading extended along the toe and over the instep to hide the sewing. Summer foot-gear were sewn with sinew, winter ones with flax which would not soften in the wet. Well smoked deer-hides were chosen for moccasin material, as these would not harden when wetted and dried.⁹² Moccasins were mostly worn in winter, when they might be stuffed with dry grass for warmth.

Some sort of "socks" were made of a wild grass; perhaps a short legging or grass stuffing for moccasins in winter was meant.

Snowshoes may be conveniently described here, although not properly clothing. These were of the elliptical type; a hoop of hazel, dogwood, or oak, two feet long by eighteen inches broad, netted with deer or bear rawhide strips, an inch wide and with the hair on.⁹³ They were used primarily in hunting.

The hair of both sexes was parted straight up the crown and hung in a braid in front of each shoulder. Each braid was formed of three strands and hung full length. Women alone wrapped the lower end of their braids with a broad band decorated with trade beads and long white beads (dentalium shells?). Jingers such as Chinese cash were hung at the ends. Men also wore their hair in a single queue at the back. In a third style men cut off the front hair on a level with the tip of the nose or mouth, brought this back as a pompadour, and braided the side hair on both sides. This is the general fashion on the reservation today. The braids were sometimes tied together to lie on the breast.

⁸⁹ The Nez Percé hats figured by Spinden (*The Nez Percé Indians*, Pl. VI) conform admirably to the description, as well as those from Nez Percé, Walla Walla, and Cascades figured by Mason (*Aboriginal American Basketry*, 439, pl. 167). See also Haeblerlin *et al.*, *Coiled Basketry*, 139, 354.

⁹⁰ Moccasins of a single type are used by all the modern inhabitants of this reservation, the Kalispel of the Idaho-Washington boundary, and the Nez Percé (cf. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians*, 216).

⁹¹ Assuming that this was a one-piece moccasin, the upper and sole being a single piece, it approximates Wissler's pattern no. 11 (*Material Culture of the Blackfoot*, 144).

⁹² The people of Warm Springs Reservation use alder bark to dye moccasins yellow; those of the Yakima reserve were beginning to imitate this in 1924.

⁹³ Oval snowshoes with a somewhat elaborate netting were collected on the Columbia River (?) by the Wilkes expedition (Mason, *Primitive Travel*, 408).

Face paints were undoubtedly used for decoration as well as in war, but it is noteworthy that all our informants mentioned their use primarily as cosmetics. A dark red paint was used in this fashion. Lumps of a certain warty fungus were gathered where they had fallen from fir trees, wrapped in leaves, buried in the earth, and roasted until red by a fire kindled over them. The product was cleaned, then scraped with a knife to secure it in a powdered form. This was thoroughly mixed with deer tallow and kneaded with the fingers until the mass was no longer greasy. This was intended as a cosmetic, not as a decoration; women used it on their faces when they worked out-of-doors to prevent sunburn and wind-cracking. A brighter red was obtained from a clay found in mountain creeks. A lump was roasted in a fire. Yellow paint was a fungus (?) found under the bark of an oak log that had lain for some time; it was simply scraped off. McGuff also stated that yellow paint was made of "mud and other ingredients, of liquids gotten from saps of different woods," e.g. alder bark (?). Black paint was simply charcoal. Paints were used in dry powdered form as well as with tallow as a vehicle. Blue and green paints were unknown.

Ear pendants were hung from holes in the ear lobe and its periphery. Both sexes had these, as many as five holes in each ear; the number gave prestige. These were pierced with some ceremony in early childhood (see p. 261). Each pendant was formed of a dentalium shell through the central longitudinal hole of which a short length of rolled deer sinew had been passed. Two or three little beads were strung on above this. Two pendants were hung from each hole. There was then a little cluster of pendants at each ear.

The Wishram did not make beads, either of shell nor bone, although they were very fond of them. Dentalium shell beads were obtained from the Pit River Indians of California; so we were told, but this must have been the ultimate source so far as the Wishram knew, with the Klamath as intermediaries. A dentalium bead was called *te'ınmax*; those of highest value, that is long dentalia marked with zigzag lines, *kawig'e'tfit*.

CALENDAR, COLORS, DIRECTIONS, AND GESTURES

Calendar. The Wishram have long discontinued the use of the native terms for the months. In 1905 there was barely one who knew them. The following fragments are all that could be secured. A month corresponding to a late summer month (July-August) was termed *itcaketi'lit a'k'umın*, literally "her-rotting moon," i.e., "the rotting month" ("moon" or "month" is feminine in gender, as is also "sun"). This probably refers to the rotting of salmon after spawning. Another month, apparently following this, was called *itcax'da'malal a'k'umın*, "her-attacking moon," "the attacking month," August-September, from the series of attacks of schools of sturgeon and salmon at this time. Then (about September) came *itgaxala'gwax a'k'umın*, "her-huckleberry-patch moon," i.e. "the month for huckleberrying." Another month, presumably October or November, *itcagu'lulix*, meant "her-acorn gathering (moon)", "the month for gathering acorns."

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Three of the months bore ordinal numerals; "seventh," "eighth," and "ninth," e.g. ałak'łwis, "the (fem.) ninth," i.e. "the ninth month."

Three terms refer to the weather, but it is doubtful if these are true month names. They seem rather to be descriptive terms that might be applied to any of their appropriate months. They are: itca'łixtcak a'k'łmin, "her-frost moon"; itca'tcatcaq a'k'łmin, "her-cold moon"; and itca'ła'iumit, "her-warmth (moon)", referring to the spring. The Wishram sometimes call "Christmas time" k'lik'łša, which is borrowed from Klickitat.

A new moon is called acu'max a'k'łmin, which cannot be further analyzed. One can also say utxui'łal a'k'łmin, "the moon is standing."

A Clackamas calendar, obtained through Pete McGuff from an old Clackamas woman living with the Wishram on Yakima Reservation, is interesting in that not one of the twelve terms has a known Wishram correspondent. The Clackamas term for "month," xaie'm, is not known in Wishram. The list follows:

| | | | |
|----------------|----------|---------------|-----------|
| watca'gun | January | waqxu'li | July |
| giaxlk'łululxł | February | wa'p'łli | August |
| witcala'myxun | March | wak'łnu'wi | September |
| wali'cnan | April | watca'mał | October |
| Gitiga'łgui | May | wakma'łalidix | November |
| witcaka'ctilit | June | gugwa'Łx | December |

These names have a decidedly archaic ring to them, with the feminine wa- prefix and witca- "her" (corresponding respectively to normal Wishram a- and itca-). Their meaning is not at all apparent, but wa-tca'gun, "January," is probably related to Wishram—tcatcaq (reduplicated), "cold weather." Apparently this is a well formalized calendar of obscure etymology, comparable for fixity and lack of clear terminological significance to our own. This is noteworthy because most Indian calendars are easily interpreted and it jibes with the stubborn etymological obscurity of Chinookan personal names.

The appearance of ordinal names in the Wishram calendar aligns it with others of the Northwest, from Yurok to the Eskimo of southern Alaska, and like them ordinals are not consistently used throughout. There is a possibility that our Clackamas series beginning with January represents an aboriginal count unmodified by white influences. If that be so, then the time of beginning may have been the winter solstice or the winter sacred period, both known in the Northwest.⁹⁴

Colors. A list of colors was requested of Mrs. Teio, on two occasions, who gave:

| | | | |
|------------|--------|----------------------|--------------|
| tałpa'ł | red | datgu'p | white |
| dała'łmax | black | töpt'saix | blue |
| daga'cmax, | yellow | atał'a'nöpsolgwı'łit | like foliage |
| dagü'c | brown | | |

⁹⁴ Cope, *Calendars*, 142, maps 2 and 3.

The absence of a specific term for green is interesting in view of the commonly observed confusion of green and blue in the nomenclature of many primitive peoples. Mrs. Teio hesitated long before giving the term here recorded for green.

Directions. The extraordinary feature in connection with Mrs. Teio's response to a request for directional terms is that she named the winds and gave only two of these. The west (Chinook) wind is *ikxa'lá*; the east wind, *wi'k'ök*. She knew of no names for north and south winds. It is true that the prevailing winds blow very strongly up and down the Columbia through the gorge it cuts through the Cascade range.

Gestures. A few observations were made on gestures. Women beckon with all four fingers, the hand held palm up. They point with the face, the lips only slightly protruded. The length of an object was indicated on the extended hand by grasping the proper point on the wrist with the other. Both in casual conversation and telling stories the action of running was indicated by flexing the arms and working the elbows to and fro.

The proper hand to take in greeting, i.e. shaking (?) hands, is the right.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CASTE

Class feeling was strongly marked as elsewhere on the Northwest Coast. Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. The highest class was presumably that of hereditary chiefs and their families. It may also have included war chiefs and shamans. How the middle and lowest classes were distinguished is unknown. We may suggest that the middle class were those with some distant affiliation with chiefs. A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else. It seems unlikely that the divisions were sharply set off. This would, however, not change the estimation in which most members of a class were held.

A chief was called *icta'mx*; his children, adult or immature, were so styled, but never his wife. This is a departure from the prevailing Northwest Coast habit, known at least as far south as Puget Sound, whereby all the members of a ranking family were known by a distinctive term.

CHIEFS AND COUNCILS

Several men were simultaneously chiefs. For example, about 1875 two men were chiefs of the remnant of the Wishram population; *K!a'lwac* and *Sla'k'ic*. Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. A woman could not be chief. The son of a chief married the daughter of a chief (of another tribe?) and their children were of high rank, the rank of the family never becoming less. If the family died out the people proceeded to the selection of a new chief.⁹⁵

A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen. "He is respected and called a chief." He then marries the daughter of a chief, and as his sons and grandsons do likewise, the rank of the family increases.

Nevertheless being a chief did not imply necessarily being a particularly wealthy man. It often happened that the wealthiest people did not belong to the highest rank, the chief's class. The separation in the Wishram mind of chiefs and the wealthy is intelligible not only because of the hereditary basis of chieftainship, but because the possibility of acquiring wealth was open to anybody. All the early travelers describe the population of the Dalles as essentially a trading people.

⁹⁵ For the burials of chiefs, see page 271.

As an instance of these observations we may cite the situation among the handful of Wishram remaining. Dick (?) Sla'k'ic, a middle aged man, living among the few Wishram still on the old village site on the Columbia, is recognized as chief. He is a paternal grandson of the chief of that name mentioned above, for whom he was named, and whose successor he is. While these people are under the jurisdiction of the Yakima Reservation and normally return there in winter, those who are settled permanently on the reservation recognize another, Frank Siletsi, as a local chief, perhaps only to represent them in dealings with the government agent. This man holds his position by reason of his wife, who is a niece on the fraternal side of the former Sla'k'ic. Our informant did not know whether a husband would have been substituted in this fashion in earlier days. The people chose him, because a woman could never be chief.

On coastal Oregon there existed a system of dual chieftainship: the Tillamook and Alsea had two chiefs for every river, the Coos for each small village. In each case one out-ranked the other.⁹⁶ It is just possible that a dual chieftainship is reflected in the circumstance that the Wishram had two chiefs in 1875. This is doubtful, however; it is more likely that several preëminent individuals were simultaneously recognized. At least our informants gave no hint that the number was confined to two, either in the group at large or in a single village.

War chiefs were distinguished from the generality of chiefs. We do not know how they were chosen nor the tenure of their office. The suggestion of our information is that they were not chosen solely when conflicts were imminent, but continued to be recognized in the interim. They were apparently men with powerful guardian spirits and personally aggressive, to judge by the remarks below on the subject of murder. We suggest tentatively that they were distinguished from other chiefs in that they obtained their position by personal qualifications rather than by heredity.

Common men did not fight with war chiefs. In a fight between two of this rank one or both might die of severe wounds, depending on the strength of their guardian spirits. The Indians of this neighborhood held that a war chief with a sturgeon spirit was powerful. A sturgeon can survive being stabbed in several places as long as the heart is not hit. A man with such a spirit could similarly withstand being severely wounded. Similarly, other war chiefs had rocks or trees for guardians; they might be hit by arrows but the missiles could not penetrate.

Chieftainship here meant something more than office and rank. Chiefs seem to have had considerable power: their word was implicitly obeyed. Acting in concert the chiefs decided on the fines or death penalty for a murderer or adulterer. If there was trouble within the tribe, it was the function of the chief to declare what should be done. Whatever the decision, it must be obeyed. The chief was "the head of the tribe." If a man killed another and the chief ordered that he was not to be brought to account, so it was. If then the murderer was

⁹⁶ Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, 4; St. Clair and Frachtenberg, *Traditions of the Coos*, 25.

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avenged and the avenger known, the chief might decree that this man should be killed, and he was killed. All cases were carried to the chiefs for decision.

There was another side to this possession of apparently unlimited power: a chief was at least partly responsible for the behavior of his followers and it was certainly his obligation to make good a fine imposed on one of them, which the man was unable to pay.

The composition of councils is not quite clear. Where a formal meeting between the chiefs of two tribes was concerned, it is possible that membership was confined to chiefs. On the other hand, it is probable that in a council of Wishram alone, prominent men and perhaps all men took part with the chiefs, since spectators were mentioned to us. Chiefs were provided with spokesmen (doubtfully, one for each), who repeated to the gathering in a loud voice what their principals said. This type of repetition is called *kixwau' ūlulix*. The spokesman might be any man; it is not clear that there was any specialization of function here. It is well to note that this is a pattern of Wishram procedure; a shaman also had his spokesman who repeated aloud what the spirit communicated to the shaman. The characteristic functionary of Northwest Coast chiefs will be recognized here.

The feathered war headdress was worn at formal meetings, at least by important individuals. The hand drum was used to call members to a meeting. When a council was protracted, there were intervals of rest, the chief who called the meeting providing tobacco. He started a pipe around the group, each chief taking a puff or two and passing it on. In the meanwhile spectators were privileged to go out. In this will be recognized the formal smoking of the calumet, characteristic of the Plains and the southern Plateau, and presumably not ancient among the Wishram.

No one was allowed to enter or leave when an important council was in progress, such as those that dealt with war, plans against other tribes, or with murder cases. Nor was any friend or relative of a defendant allowed to be present. Important councils were held at night and guards posted, not that the chiefs were in personal danger, but rather to prevent information being carried to their opponents.

In an intertribal dispute, it was the duty of the chiefs to meet in council to investigate the case or to meet with the foreign chiefs. Should the matter not be settled at this conference, they argued no longer but declared war. Councils of both types are noted in the account of the meeting with the Bannock (p. 233), one of the noteworthy features of which is the truculent speeches and dissimulation of the chiefs.

MURDER

Murders were not uncommon. Their origin was usually the jealousy of a man over attentions to his wife or, where a death was laid to witchcraft, killings followed in attempts at vengeance. The relations of men to women not their relatives were distinctly circumscribed and a misstep which might be construed

as constructive adultery was resented and punished. The evident purpose of bringing a murderer before the chief or council was not so much to fasten responsibility on the murderer nor to punish his act as anti-social, as to prevent the hazards of a blood-feud.

The circumstance that affected the penalty imposed by the council was in the first instance the evidence, which in the nature of the case was almost always circumstantial, as it was necessarily in cases of witchcraft. The second consideration was the rank of the murdered or rather the relative ranks of murderer and murdered. The third was a settlement satisfactory to all the principals in order that the matter should rest with this solution. There was little legal subtlety in these considerations; confession would not mitigate the penalty, and no other pleas were effective, unless we except those of justification and accident, which were doubtless considerations. Inasmuch as the offender and his partisans were excluded from the discussion, there could be no effective argument on these counts. In short, the simplest of personal relations existed between the chiefs, the murderer, and the family of the murdered. This threw the disposal of the problem fully on the chiefs, whose dictates must nevertheless have been limited by public knowledge and sentiment.

Cases always rested on circumstantial evidence and public knowledge. An eye witness never testified, for his life was in danger if he did. It was more than likely that he next would die at the hands of the defendant's kinsmen.

The penalty imposed, and in fact the question whether one would be imposed at all, depended largely on who was murdered and to what family he belonged. It made a material difference whether he was of poor family or rich, himself a shaman, a war chief, a member of their families, or a man with many children, etc. If the murdered man was a shaman and was known for witchcraft, usually nothing was done about it. Since a shaman was never killed for anything but bewitching someone, his death was taken as *prima facie* evidence that there was real cause and the killing fully justified. A war chief was thought to be murdered only by another war chief, since a common man would never think of quarreling with one. People were too much in fear of war chiefs. If a shaman's kinsman was killed, the case was at once investigated by the council of chiefs and the murderer was compelled to give whatever the shaman demanded. Shamans and war chiefs alone had this privilege. A chief was afraid of a shaman, not that he was apt to "poison" the chief himself, but for fear that he might cause the death of some near relative. A shaman's family was not molested; one rarely heard of one being killed. Similarly the murder of a war chief or some member of his family was very rare, for a war chief might refuse proffered blood money and take immediate revenge, or do so at once without allowing the council time for meditation.

When a homicide was held to be without sufficient justification, the murderer was fined a large amount of property in canoes, furs, slaves, etc. If he was unable to meet the demand he was condemned to death by bowshot, the nearest of kin of the murdered being his executioner. The fine is blood money, fixed here

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by the dictates of the chiefs, save in the case of shamans and war chiefs as noted above, not by direct negotiation of the principals as elsewhere. It does not seem that the chief or chiefs shared in any part of the fine paid. When a murdered man left several children, the compensation was fixed in proportion to their number. The widow was then entitled to it for their support. The desire was to achieve a settlement satisfactory to the feelings of the aggrieved who was then supposed to be content. Yet at times a bitter feeling remained, their promises to consider the matter closed were broken, and taking vengeance into their own hands, they retaliated by killing the murderer or one of his family.

Much depended on the rank of the murdered. A murder among people of the lowest class was not the concern of the chiefs; the solution was usually blood vengeance. Those of the middle class were protected by the chiefs; the fine was of middle value and there was not much chance of their being condemned to death. A chief was in duty bound to make good the blood money of a follower unable to pay, at least where it was owed a member of another tribe (or group?). But a murder in the high class was attended by a heavy imposition or by certain death. At times the amount demanded was so great that five or six families were involved in producing it.

The set of circumstances in a case of witchcraft may be outlined as follows. When two Indians had a serious difficulty and one wanted to dispose of the other, he hired a shaman to bewitch him. In eight or ten days this man died after but a brief illness. As he expired he repeated the very words used by the shaman in defining the manner of his death and stated who had planned the deed. The one who had hired the shaman was taken before the chiefs(?). They found him guilty and set the compensation. If he failed to bring the required amount, he was shot. The shaman was not culpable; the one who had planned the crime alone was guilty. Some would not wait on the chiefs' decision but ambushed the suspected man; this might lead to a series of reprisals. Five or six might be killed in this manner before a murderer was seen and known with certainty, when the case was brought before the chief. In this event the fine was very heavy, five or ten slaves, depending on the caste involved.

Circumstances were necessarily different when the murderer was one of another tribe. Unless the chiefs of the two peoples could agree, war was inevitable. It was very rare for them to agree on a death penalty, since feeling would run high. If the offender was unable to meet the demand for blood money, his chief would call a council for the purpose of getting together the sum. Chiefs showed in this manner how much they cared for their people.

A quite obscure statement was obtained from Mrs. Teio: that a murderer left immediately in the early morning for the mountains, where he remained fasting for four or five days. She did not know whether this held for women as well. It is conceivable that purpose was one of purification and the renewal of spirit power by a new quest.

ADULTERY

The relations between an unrelated man and woman were regulated by a formal code, the purpose of which was to enforce circumspection in their dealings. Girls were closely watched. It was a very difficult thing for a man to find opportunity to meet or speak to a young girl. It is said that illicit relations between young people were very rare. A girl who had transgressed was no longer worth anything; no one would care to buy her. Her parents too lost prestige by their carelessness. We must assume that this concern varied with the status of the family, that poor people with little to lose were far less vigilant. This is, in fact, borne out by the statement that they would deliberately arrange compromising situations in order to levy a species of blackmail.

There was equal concern over the conduct of a wife; so much so that constructive adultery was a punishable offense, perhaps to the degree of adultery itself. This circumspection surrounded as well relations with the wife-to-be of an infant betrothal, whether an immature girl or a woman affianced to a boy.

An unmarried man must take great care not to come too close to any unrelated woman. For example, should he meet one on the trail, he must step aside, perhaps ten feet, in order to avoid touching her. This, even if wholly accidental, was construed as an improper advance, and the husband was considered mortally offended, and derided by others. The offense could be compounded by a heavy property fine, varying in value with the rank of the husband, or if the husband considered himself insulted beyond redress by payment, the offender might even be punished by death. If the husband desired to keep the affair secret, he might lie in ambush for the offender and kill him without further ado. It is said to have been a trick of an impoverished man to get wealth for himself by causing some wealthy man unwittingly to touch his wife or daughter, whereupon the offended person could demand heavy payment for the affront. An unmarried man was forbidden by the possibility of misinterpretation ever to offer anything to a married woman; for example, should she express a desire for a drink of water, the young man was not supposed to get it for her. The notion of implied adultery was pushed so far that an unmarried man who fetched water never drank first of it himself under any circumstances. Should he do so, it was a certain sign that after marriage he would commit adultery with his mother-in-law.

Adultery and actions construed as such were heavily punished, by death to the adulterer or a heavy fine. Such statements as we have limit punishment to the adulterer alone; what action, if any, was taken against the adulteress is unknown. Should a low class Wishram commit adultery with the daughter or other close relative of a chief, he was very apt to be ordered killed by the chief's council. When a man discovered illicit relations with his wife, he killed the adulterer and paid but a small sum to the latter's family by way of recompense. Or he might spare the man's life but demand such damages as he thought reasonable, though the offender was then warned that if he was again found by this man talking to the wife, the husband would be at liberty to kill him. It mattered not

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what they talked about; they were not to talk together out of earshot of other people.

We can hardly doubt that this account is somewhat over-formulated. It is doubtful that the reactions to every chance encounter could have been so severe as implied. Yet the possibility that certain actions could have been construed as moral breaches seems to have been in Wishram consciousness, and hence furnished a limitation to casual social contacts.⁹⁷

MARRIAGE

Marriage in all classes of Wishram society was legalized by a set procedure involving primarily the exchange of gifts. While this is described by the Wishram themselves as the buying of a wife, it is not bride-purchase in the sense of acquiring a chattel. The purchase was simply a customary procedure to be followed regularly for the sake of the social approval it gave to the union. There can be no doubt that at the same time the size of the gifts exchanged was a measurable criterion of the social pretensions of the participant families, and gave status to the newly formed union. We have recorded no expression that the purchase sum was given as compensation for the loss of the bride's services to her family. The primary notion was that unions not sanctioned by purchase were not legitimate, not permanent, and the offspring illegitimate. Such children were called *ixkixtu'mxõn*, or *ługa'mitcixt*, something picked up.

A second general feature was that marriages were commonly outside of the tribe. While we were not told so, we infer that this held primarily for high class and middle class unions, or for the former alone. Chiefs and their sons, as noted above, married the daughters of chiefs, who must frequently have been of other tribes in view of the limited number of chiefs with which we can credit the Wishram. It seems likely that the attitude of the Indians of western Washington was duplicated here. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives from among other tribes than their own. . . . It seems to be a matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones in their own persons. . . . With the chiefs this is almost always the case."⁹⁸ At any rate, we have recorded the statement that chiefs and well-to-do men married women of tribes from the Cascades to the mouth of the Columbia River, as well as the Klickitat. Conversely Wishram women married into these groups also, specifically with the Kathlamet and Clackamas. It will be observed that, with the exception of the Klickitat, these were marriages with peoples of Upper Chinook speech, differing hardly at all from Wishram. Tribal exogamy of this sort was characteristic of the whole southern Northwest Coast area.

⁹⁷ Incidentally there is a lesson here for the theoretical ethnologist. If the avoidance of man and woman here were known only objectively it would present a situation resembling that, say, in Melanesia. One might suppose then the explanation to be that women were set apart from the man's social fabric because of the low esteem in which they were held, or that men avoided them because of their periodic impure state. Either guess would be a shot far wide of the mark. The moral is that it is as necessary to discover what the native sentiment is as well as to record the behavior.

⁹⁸ Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington*, 197.

On the other hand endogamous marriages were not prohibited. People within one Wishram village could marry unless they were blood relations.

Plural marriages occurred. Some had two, three, or four wives, or as another informant put it, a wealthy man, owning many canoes, slaves, and other valuables, had from two to eight or ten wives. It was a matter of indifference whether plural wives were sisters or not. The marriage ceremony followed exactly the same form in every case, it was said; that is, each wife had to be purchased. Otherwise children born to the union were "as nothing," that is, not legitimate.

Infant betrothals were arranged when the principals were as young as two years.⁹⁹ A regular wedding feast was held, with the exchange of gifts. The bride was purchased for the groom by his parents with canoes, pelts of various animals, buckskins, and feathers. They remained in their parents' homes until babyhood was at an end ("until they could talk plainly"), before being allowed to live together. (Presumably the girl then joined the boy at his home). Sometimes they remained separate until they were grown. Similarly a man bought a baby as his wife; when she was old enough they lived together. He regarded her parents as his parents-in-law and they reciprocated in their regard. Or a woman might be bought as the bride of an infant boy: she was then known as married to so-and-so's son. Circumspection attended relations with the brides of infant marriages as fully as in normal cases. Should one of the parties to an infant marriage die before they began living together, the survivor adopted full mourning. He or she must remain single for five years and during that time must never dress his hair, for example. At the expiration the deceased was replaced by another, the nearest relative, a sister or brother. That is, the levirate and sororate were adhered to as rigidly in these cases as in normal marriages.

When a young man wanted to marry his parents selected a good worker whom they favored. (Sapir's informant however phrased the choice as that of the groom).¹⁰⁰ They sent an old man, not necessarily a relative, to her parents to offer so much property, money or horses, as a purchase price. The young woman's father might reply; "Wait; I want to consult my relatives." If he favored the youth he would send a man to tell the suitor's people. Then the latter's father would send word that they would arrive at a certain time. (In Sapir's brief account the original emissary took the purchase articles to the bride's father and returned with the counter present).

The suitor and his father then dressed in their finest and proceeded with their relatives to the girl's home. Meanwhile her family had prepared a feast. The visitors sat down near the house. Then a man of their party brought forward the horses, crying "Wa+"; saying that so many were given by the father, so many by the aunt, etc. The girl's father called out the names of his own relatives who were to be the recipients. Spokesmen on the bride's side similarly went forward and called out gifts for the other party. Spokesmen of this sort were each paid a blanket for their services by the father of the contractant for whom they acted.

⁹⁹ These statements apply to the people of the Cascades as well.

¹⁰⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 175.

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Women relatives of the girl then brought baskets tied together with beads, beaded bags, and other fine handiwork, and called the names of recipients. Men of the groom's party spread blankets to receive them. The women took the blankets back with them. The groom's mother gave the girl's mother a shawl. A whole trunkful of clothing was exchanged in this fashion.

The bride's people then spread a blanket or tanned skin on which the bride seated herself. She was dressed in all her finery. A woman sat on each side of her, her mother-in-law and another. They took off her finery and gave it to the groom's people. Then they dressed her hair with deer tallow and each inserted a comb, of which each had several. Then the girl's feminine relatives removed these. Others were put in her hair and removed again, and so on.

Meanwhile the girl's relatives prepared food. When the groom's party was dressed they went to the others. Men went first, then the groom, and finally the women with packs of blankets. The bride's party spread nice mats and placed blankets for the youth and his close relatives to sit on. They were then served, and the platters, etc., were presented to them.

This concluded the initial part of the ceremony, by which the groom was taken to his wife's home. Throughout the whole affair the young couple never addressed a word to each other.

The gifts were approximately equal, unless one side was too poor. In the account published by Sapir the groom's gifts consisted of three slaves and two race horses, the return present of a tanned elk-skin, an ox-hide blanket, and two woven blankets. When it was questioned whether this was really a purchase, since the gifts on both sides were equal in amount, Mrs. Teio replied: "Quite so, but the purpose of the gifts was that people should not gossip later and that the union should be permanent. Nowadays the girls elope and that is not legitimate."

The youth now remained with his bride's family. After a few weeks they took baskets, food, horses, etc., and with the girl's relations went to the groom's former home. The bride's mother spread a blanket for the girl to stand on. They then poured baskets of beads, pouches, etc., over the girl as she stood before the house. The groom's family appropriated these. She sat down and her mother-in-law removed her finery. In its stead she draped blankets, shawls, and lengths of cloth over the bride, which the latter's female relatives then removed.

Then food was placed for the visitors to eat. The groom's family gave presents to the bride's to carry away with them. The bride's people went out to where they had left their packs and made a pile of things for the groom's relatives. The bride's relatives then returned home, leaving the couple in residence with the groom's family.

After an appointed interval, only a week if they wished to hurry the affair, the couple and the groom's relatives again visited the bride's. Again there was the exchange of presents and feasting. Finally, after a brief time the couple were taken in the same fashion to the groom's home, which was to be their permanent residence.

Etiquette demanded two visits apiece by each family before the marriage ceremony was ended.

Formal visiting of this sort did not end, however, with marriage. The effort of the two families was directed toward maintaining friendly relations by visiting, feasting, and exchanging gifts in this manner. Thus, a few months after the birth of a child of either sex, the husband's people set a time at which they would visit the bride's relatives. The baby was decked out. The husband's people made gifts to the wife's. The latter then reciprocated by a gift-bearing visit. There was only one such visit by each family to celebrate a birth, but they repeated this on the birth of every child as an expression of their pleasure.

Divorce did not call for the return of the presents.

The levirate and sororate were usual but not obligatory, at least not so regular for adult unions as the informant's statements concerning infant marriages would imply. If a man already had a family he did not of necessity have to take his brother's widow to wife. There was no preference expressed for junior or senior levirate. The widow might marry a cousin, or for that matter anyone. Leviratical rights were expressed, however, by the fact that an outsider had to make a present of a horse or whatever to the dead husband's people so that they would look on him as one of themselves. It is significant that the gift was not made to the wife's family. The sororate, in the form of a substitute for a dead wife, was also practised but by no means in every case. We have already noted that the polygamous sororate did not occur as a regular form. Obviously the formal nature of these institutions was modified by the circumstances of compatibility, residence, etc.

On the relations between relatives by marriage we have little data. It is known at least that there were no tabus between mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law, between fathers-in-law and their son's wives. The following tale illustrates the relations of men to their mothers-in-law.

There was a man who abused his wife. When his mother-in-law interfered, he spoke to her angrily. She said: "Perhaps he is going to give me the skin of a certain animal [a white furred beast living in the sea]." That man had a little supernatural power; he could go under water and kill for her. He made up his mind: "I am going to get that for my mother-in-law." He told one little fellow: "If you know how to go under the water, we will go together." The little fellow said: "Yes, I know how to do that." He too had a little power. So they made big sharp stone knives which they fastened to sticks [lances?]. They then went in a canoe, but I do not know how far.

They went under the water. They killed that white animal and brought it out. They took it ashore and skinned it. They tanned the skin until it was soft. They brought it home with them.

The old woman was lying down, so they spread the skin over her. She was surprised: "Oh, I said that, but I did not think they would get it. My son-in-law has a strong mind; no one else could get it."

So from that time men tell their sons: "No matter what your mother-in-law tells you, do not answer; do not abuse her." They tell their daughters too: "Do not get angry with your mother-in-law." If they quarrel with her, they give her something to make her feel better.¹⁰¹

Something has already been said of sex relations outside of marriage. Prostitution was at any rate not institutionalized.

Of abnormal sex situations it is known that two or three transvestites, possi-

¹⁰¹ Told by Mrs. Teio.

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bly real hermaphrodites, existed. They were called *iklé'laskait*. None of them were shamans.¹⁰²

Marriage as outlined for the Wishram smacks strongly of typical Northwest Coast ideas and procedure. There too marriage for the upper class was intertribal, and the union legitimized by purchase, its amount fixing the social status of all concerned. The very procedure of ceremonious visits, with gifts presented by spokesmen, the feasting and carrying away of the feast utensils, the rivalry in lavish giving are all reminiscent of the potlatch. Even the transfer of valuables by the person of the bride is analogous to Kwakiutl practise.

RESIDENCE AND HOUSE-COMPOSITION

As indicated in the description of the marriage ceremony above, a couple took up permanent residence with the husband's relatives. But while patrilocal residence was usual, conditions might warrant a man living with his wife's relatives. A newly married couple did not build a separate house for themselves, but took up residence in the house of the man's father, brother, or other male relative.

All the people in a house were related. Sometimes an unrelated person with no other home joined them. Beyond the circumstance that a son with his bride joined his father, there was no intentional stressing of paternal or maternal relationships in household composition. Once a household group was established helpful relations prevailed. Thus, women would freely give food to other families in the house should they need it.

We have knowledge of the composition of only one specific household. That in which Mrs. Teio lived as a girl in *Nixlo'idix*, the sole Wishram town of that day (1860-70), held her maternal grandmother, her mother's maternal aunt's daughter and her daughter, her father (who died in her infancy), mother, brother, and self; her sister and her husband; and a half-brother. The house had two fireplaces; at one cooking was done for her mother, grandmother, sister, brother, and herself. Sometimes a visiting woman lived with them, helping to dry fish.

At this time the town *Nixlo'idix* held perhaps nine or ten houses.

SLAVES

Slaves as non-Wishram stood apart in the social structure, ranking below the lowest class, whose material conditions could not, however, have differed much from theirs. They were captives of war, never Wishram, for no such institution as debt-slavery, e.g., existed. They were not, however, always captives made by the Wishram but frequently had been bought from other peoples, the trade in slaves being heavier at the Dalles than probably any other place in the northwest. The number owned by Wishram and Wasco was considerable.

Teit's information obtained among the interior Salish was that "slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles long ago. They were

¹⁰² Among the Klamath Spier found a man who, as a youth, had lived among the Wishram. There he changed to girls' dress and habits to escape bewitching by a Wishram shaman.

boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere."¹⁰³ Partial confirmation of this was obtained by Spier among the Klamath. These people were in the habit of making extensive slave-taking raids, the majority of their captives being carried to the Dalles for trade. Considerable numbers were taken in this fashion; there is a record that in 1857 they captured fifty-six Pit River women and children, who were sold at the Dalles. Their slave raids were primarily against the Achomawi and Atsugewi of Pit River in northern California, to a lesser extent against Northern Paiute (or Snake) of eastern Oregon and the Shasta of adjacent California, with a few captured among the Upland Takelma of the upper Rogue River. It is probable that the Klamath contribution to the Wishram-Wasco slave market was negligible until after the coming of the horse, about 1800-40, and perhaps wholly absent prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia tribes at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ The following autobiographical account of a slave indicates that slaves were also traded from the Klickitat who obtained them on raids into southwestern Oregon and adjacent California.¹⁰⁵

I and my brother were captured in a war between the Klickitat and my tribe, the Shasta [but see below]. I am half Shasta and half Molala. With the Klickitat were Indians from several villages on the Columbia. In those days my people did nothing but prepare for war with Indians from the Columbia, who were in a habit of raiding our people to capture women and children as slaves. My tribe and others of Oregon and [north] eastern California prepared by making arrows, bows, and other implements of war. I was then a boy of about four years, while my brother was about six. [This fixes the date at about 1842]¹⁰⁶

I well remember the day the "fish-eaters," as we called them, charged on us at a river where we were living by fishing for salmon. We had lots of dried salmon prepared for winter use. It was about noon of a summer day when I and my brother by the river heard the Columbia Indians give their war-cry on the opposite bank. The river was deep and swift but quite narrow.

My father pulled his clothes off and painted his face. Several other men of our party were ready at once. Immediately my father was hit in the eye by a Columbia River arrow. The enemy crossed to the side we were on. My father saw we were outnumbered and were being beaten. Our people scattered, fighting all the time. My brother and I hid between some big boulders. The last I saw of my mother was when she ran by our hiding place with my father following with his eye out. They plunged into the river and swam down to a landing some distance below. I heard my father call out loud: "My dear sons, wherever you are hidden, if you are found you must remember the route you take so that you will know how to get back when you can get away. My eye is wholly out." All the rest of the women and men got away, but I and my brother were found right away, as we were seen by a spy who stood on the other side of the river.

We were taken to Sketcu'txat, now Vancouver, Washington. I was kept by one family while my brother stayed with another. After a long while I was given to a Wishram fam-

¹⁰³ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 122.

¹⁰⁴ Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*.

¹⁰⁵ Told by Johnny Bullhart, circa. 1908.

¹⁰⁶ On Klickitat raids into this area, see Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 99.

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ily with whom I remained until I was freed [about 1855-60, on passing into federal jurisdiction by being moved to the Yakima Reservation]. We were so well cared for that my brother and I never had any idea of running away after we became grown boys. My brother died at Walla Walla thirty years ago. We both forgot our own language. I now talk Wishram and Klickitat, and am seventy years old. I do not know any of my relatives. I have twice been back to my tribe [presumably Molala] but failed to find any of them. I was not remembered by anyone. My father was a Shasta, but I never went to them to see if I could find any relatives.

In war special efforts were always made to capture near relatives of the enemy chiefs; a captive son of the brother of the enemy's chief was considered a greater triumph than the capture of almost any number of ordinary people. Hence a large proportion of the slaves among the Wishram were of high birth; being a slave by no manner of means implied low rank by birth. The Siletz Indians, that is those of western Oregon at large, were contemptuously termed "slaves" because, being poor fighters, more of them were captured than of any other tribe.

Slaves were expected to wait on their masters and to do all the work of the household. When travelling, they were taken along to do the packing, gather wood, establish camp, etc. In a meeting with the Bannock which ended in a fight (see p. 233), the slave of the above autobiographical account, then a lad of sixteen, was taken along to pack the equipment from the canoes to the encampment and to ride home such horses as were gotten in trade. As the affair turned out, he took an active part on the Wishram side in recapturing stolen horses.

On the whole it is likely that their life was materially like that of the poor among the Wishram. They were ordinarily well treated by their masters; the account above makes that clear. The treatment depended largely on their own behavior, we were told; a mean spirited slave was treated accordingly. A runaway was punished by applying a torch to the soles of his feet until they were raw; if he ran away again this was done even more severely.

Perhaps the largest single element of their lives that distinguished them from poor Wishram was uncertainty. We have no statement that a slave was ordinarily killed with his master, but this was true at least of chief's personal slaves. This was also the custom of neighboring peoples. Thus, in 1844 a slave boy was bound to the body of the dead chief of the Wasco (Wascopams) in the grave house preparatory to burial, and among the Chinook, it was recorded that a slave was bound to that of a chief's daughter and exposed in a canoe.¹⁰⁷ There was the further uncertainty of how long a master would keep his slave.

Wealth was also measured in slaves. Mrs. Teio stated that her father had a great many—two! But considering the large number held by the relatively small number of Wishram implied in general statements, it would seem that wealthy men owned a far larger number of slaves. It may be assumed that the poor owned few or none. In one marriage account three slaves were cited as part of the bride purchase. A notion of their value may be gotten from the fact that the Klamath set the exchange price of two slave children taken to the Dalles

¹⁰⁷ Minto, *Condition*, 300, note 4; Schoolcraft, *Archives*, 2, 71, quoted in Bancroft, I, 249.

at five horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. In 1859 Taylor noted the value of one woman as worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.¹⁰⁸

TRADE

If there was any one outstanding aspect of Wishram life it was trading. They were famous as the possessors of a trade market among tribes for a vast distance around and were inordinately proud of their reputation. In fact, they commonly render the name of their principal settlement, Nixlu'idix (now Spedis, Washington), as "trading place," although the word is perhaps not capable of being etymologized. The vicinity of the Dalles was probably the most considerable trading establishment of the whole northwest, marking the meeting place of the interior and coastal groups in the bottle-neck of the gorge of the Columbia as it cuts through the Cascade range.

The rôle of the Wishram as traders was entirely that of stay-at-homes; there is no evidence that they ever went abroad to trade. They were wholly middlemen. It must not be assumed that the trade at the Dalles was wholly in their hands; the Wasco on the opposite, south, side of the river, and the adjacent bands of Sahaptins, shared in it equally. In earlier days, perhaps prior to 1750, the Salish groups who occupied the banks of the Columbia immediately above them to the east participated in this middleman's rôle.

Teit furnishes an excellent summary of trading at the Dalles.

"The Columbia and Wenatchi [of east central Washington] were the principal traders of the Salish people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country. . . .

Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north.

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. . . . Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost anything brought to them, and resold it again. Grande Ronde, in eastern Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. . . . Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians*, I, 1x).

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Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. . . .

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest versus north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen."¹⁰⁹

In addition to the tribes who visited The Dalles for trade cited by Teit, our informant listed Toppenish, Wenatchi, and Nespelem. People came from everywhere to the east in the spring, from as far as the Spokane. Elsewhere food was scarce by spring but the Wishram had plenty, especially dried salmon. They brought a variety of wild products, such as wild potatoes, to exchange for salmon. On the other hand, the lower Columbia people came only rarely to The Dalles and then only members of the higher classes, such as chiefs and important shamans. They came with canoes which they traded for buffalo robes.

The trade on the river was described by Lewis and Clark in 1806 in the following terms. "Of that trade, however, the great emporium is the falls [the Dalles to Celilo Falls], where all the neighbouring nations assemble. The inhabitants of the Columbia plains [i.e., between the falls and the Snake River], after having passed the winter near the mountains, come down as soon as the snow has left the valleys, and are occupied in collecting and drying roots till about the month of May. They then crowd to the river, and fixing themselves on its north side, to avoid the incursions of the Snake Indians, continue fishing till about the first of September, when the salmon are no longer fit for use. They then bury their fish and return to the plains, where they remain gathering quamash till the snow obliges them to desist. They come back to the Columbia, and taking their store of fish retire to the foot of the mountains, and along the creeks which supply timber for houses, and pass the winter in hunting deer or elk, which, with the aid of their fish, enables them to subsist till in the spring they resume the circle of their employments. During their residence on the river, from May to September, or rather before they begin the regular fishery, they go down to the falls, carrying with them skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chappel bread. They are here overtaken by the Chopunnish [Nez Percé] and other tribes of the Rocky mountains, who descend the Kooskooskee and Lewis's River for the purpose of selling bear-grass, horses, quamash, and a few skins which they have obtained by hunting, or in exchange for horses with the Tushepaws.

"At the falls they find the Chilluckittequaws [White Salmon?], Eneeshurs [local Sahaptins], Echeloots [Wishram], and Skilloots [Wishram?], which last serve as intermediate traders or carriers between the inhabitants above and below the falls. These tribes prepare pounded fish for the market, and the nations

¹⁰⁹ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 121-2.

below bring wappatoo roots, the fish of the seacoast, berries, and a variety of trinkets and small articles which they have procured from the whites.

"The trade then begins. The Chopunnish and Indians of the Rocky mountains exchange the articles which they have brought for wappatoo, pounded fish, and beads. The Indians of the plains, being their own fishermen, take only wappatoo, horses, beads, and other articles procured from Europeans. The Indians, however, from Lewis's river to the falls consume as food or fuel all the fish which they take; so that the whole stock for exportation is prepared by the nations between the Towahnahiooks [John Day River?] and the falls, and amounts, as nearly as we could estimate, to about thirty thousand weight, chiefly salmon, above the quantity which they use themselves or barter with the more eastern Indians. This is now carried down the river by the Indians, at the falls, and is consumed among the nations at the mouth of the Columbia, who in return give the fish of the seacoast and the articles which they obtain from the whites. The neighbouring people [i.e. at the mouth] catch large quantities of salmon and dry them, but they do not understand or practice the art of drying and pounding it in the manner used at the falls, and being very fond of it, are forced to purchase it at high prices. This article, indeed, and the wappatoo form the principal subjects of trade with the people of our immediate vicinity. The traffic is wholly carried on by water; there are even no roads or paths through the country, except across the portages which connect the creeks.

"Many Indians from the villages above passed us [Lewis and Clark, at the Cascades] in the course of the day, on their return from trading with the natives of the [lower] valley, and among others we recognized an Eloot [Echeloot, Wishram] who with ten or twelve of his nation were on their way home to the long narrows of the Columbia. These people do not, as we are compelled to do, drag their canoes up the rapids, but leave them at the head, as they descended, and carrying their goods across the portage, hire or borrow others from the people below. When the trade is over they return to the foot of the rapids, where they leave these boats and resume their own at the head of the portage. The labour of carrying the goods across is equally shared by the men and women, and we were struck by the contrast between the decent conduct of all the natives from above and the profligacy and ill manners of the Wahclellahs."¹¹⁰

Ross writes of the trade in the Wishram-Deschutes country five years later: "The main camp of the Indians is situated at the head of the narrows, and may contain, during the salmon season, 3,000 souls, or more; but the constant inhabitants of the place do not exceed 100 persons, and are called Wy-am-pams [Deschutes]; the rest are all foreigners from different tribes throughout the country, who resort hither, not for the purpose of catching salmon, but chiefly for gambling and speculation; for trade and traffic, not in fish, but in other articles; for the Indians of the plains seldom eat fish, and those of the sea-coast sell, but never buy fish. Fish is their own staple commodity. The articles of traffic brought to this place by the Indians of the interior are generally horses, buffalo-robcs, and

¹¹⁰ Hosmer, II, 149-151, 249.

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native tobacco, which they exchange with the natives of the sea-coast and other tribes, for the higua [dentalium] beads and other trinkets. But the natives of the coast seldom come up thus far. Now all these articles generally change hands through gambling, which alone draws so many vagabonds together at this place; because they are always sure to live well here, whereas no other place on the Columbia could support so many people together. The long narrows, therefore, is the great emporium or mart of the Columbia, and the general theatre of gambling and roguery.

"We saw great quantities of fish everywhere; but what were they among so many: we could scarcely get a score of salmon to buy. For every fisherman there are fifty idlers, and all the fish caught are generally devoured on the spot; so that the natives of the place can seldom lay up their winter stock until the gambling season is over, and their troublesome visitors gone. All the gamblers, horse-stealers, and other outcasts throughout the country, for hundreds of miles round, make this place their great rendezvous during summer."¹¹¹

The trade was by no means always direct with the Wishram. The Nez Percé sometimes brought buffalo robes to trade with the Klickitat for their baskets. They in turn took them to the Wishram to exchange for cured fish (salmon, sturgeon, and eels). Nez Percé parfleches among the Yakima, Klickitat, and Wishram—and practically all of these were of Nez Percé manufacture—at test to another article of trade. The Wenatchi journeyed westward across the Cascades to trade with the tribes of Puget Sound and southward. Doubtless articles from the coast, such as shells, found their way in this fashion to the Wishram.

The Wishram also traded with the Wasco for dried elk and deer meat. The Wasco had direct trading relations with the Umatilla, more extensive than those of Wishram with the latter, by which they acquired buffalo robes. The direct contact of Umatilla with Wasco was presumably due to the former coming on horseback, hence keeping to the south side of the Columbia. Occasionally the Umatilla brought a horse or two for the Wasco, which further changed hands until it came into possession of the Klickitat, who became horse breeders. Before 1825-30 these Indians had no horses or few which were then confined to the Nez Percé and Umatilla. The coming of the horse doubtless gave great impetus to trading.

The Klamath may not have had much direct contact with the Wishram. Klamath informants were indefinite as to the exact locality they visited on the Columbia; it was vaguely The Dalles. It is most probable that they traded rather with Wasco, since the objectives of their trading expeditions were Warm Springs as well as The Dalles. Slaves, Pit River bows and beads, and lily seed were taken there to exchange for horses, blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), dried salmon, and lamprey eels. Occasionally they stayed the winter on the Columbia, sometimes for a number of years.

There is at least one observation on the comparative wealth of the tribes in the general vicinity of The Dalles. Our informant stated that the Toppenish and

¹¹¹ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129-130.

Wenatchi were very poor, even among "the supposed first class." They drifted about, managing a trade now and then, but had no status until absorbed by the Klickitat. These statements must be interpreted as relative to the substantial wealth implied for the Wishram.

Special friendships with foreign Indians were sometimes the result of these trade contracts. "When one has a friend in another country (i.e. among another tribe), he comes to see you, or you go to see him. Both are glad to meet each other; one gives the other a horse or something valuable, the other gives something in return. Such are each other's ié'lpēt, trading-friend."¹¹²

WARFARE

It is difficult at this late date to define the intertribal relations of the Wishram under aboriginal conditions. It is at least clear that in the middle of the last century and for some time earlier they carried on continued though intermittent warfare against the Northern Paiute of Eastern Oregon and their cogeners the Bannock-Snake to the east. In fact the specific name for the Paiute was išt'lua'nxayukc, enemies. With the neighboring Sahaptin tribes they were on reasonably friendly terms, and were closely linked in friendship with the Wasco, dwelling opposite on the Oregon side of the Columbia, and with other Upper Chinookan peoples.

The explanation of their enmity for the Northern Paiute and Bannock-Snake is to be found in the evidence newly discovered by Teit, that the movement of Sahaptin and Waiilatpuan tribes from the south bank of the Columbia exposed the Upper Chinookan peoples to direct attack by these Shoshoneans.¹¹³ At the opening of the eighteenth century, Salish speaking peoples occupied Eastern Washington south to the Columbia and west to the Dalles. On the south side of the river dwelt the Waiilatpuan peoples, Molala and Cayuse. South of them again on the upper Deschutes River were the Sahaptin peoples known later as Yakima, Klickitat, and allied groups. Beginning in 1750 a series of attacks by Snake and Paiute on the Sahaptins led them to withdraw north of the Columbia, led the Cayuse to move northeastward, and the Molala to cross the Cascades to the west. The pressure of Snake raids reached its height in the period of 1800-30. This left the southern bank of the Columbia empty of people save for the Wasco and the allied Sahaptin Tyghpam and Tenino near the Dalles and in the Warm Springs country. The ability of the Shoshoneans to carry on these raids was presumably due to their acquisition of the horse (about 1750) before it reached the more northern peoples.¹¹⁴

Most of their conflicts must have been in the nature of retaliatory measures between villages of their own or with their neighbors. This is suggested by the accounts given above of the manner in which murders, abductions, and other wrongs were handled. Franchère draws a picture of such conflicts, which while

¹¹² Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 104.

¹¹³ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 98 f.

¹¹⁴ Compare Wissler, *The Influence of the Horse*, 13.

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referring to the lower Columbia peoples, must also give the flavor of conflict among the Wishram.¹¹⁵

"As all the villages form so many independent sovereignties, differences sometimes arise, whether between the chiefs or the tribes. Ordinarily, these terminate by compensations equivalent to the injury. But when the latter is of a grave character, like murder (which is rare), or the abduction of a woman (which is very common), the parties, having made sure of a number of young braves to aid them, prepare for war. Before commencing hostilities, however, they give notice of the day when they will proceed to attack the hostile village; not following in that respect the custom of almost all other American Indians, who are wont to burst upon their enemy unawares, and to massacre or carry off men, women and children; these people, on the contrary, embark in their canoes, which on these occasions are paddled by the women, repair to the hostile village, enter into parley, and do all they can to terminate the affair amicably; sometimes a third party becomes mediator between the first two, and of course observes an exact neutrality. If those who seek justice do not obtain it to their satisfaction, they retire to some distance, and the combat begins, and is continued for some time with fury on both sides; but as soon as one or two men are killed, the party which has lost these, owns itself beaten and the battle ceases. If it is the people of the village attacked who are worsted, the others do not retire without receiving presents. When the conflict is postponed till the next day (for they never fight but in open daylight, as if to render nature witness of their exploits), they keep up frightful cries all night long, and, when they are sufficiently near to understand each other, defy one another by menaces, raileries, and sarcasms, like the heroes of Homer and Virgil. The women and children are always removed from the village before the action."

The Wishram really had no wars of their own, according to McGuff's testimony, but sometimes joined the Wasco in battle with the Paiute. This might well apply to the period of the Shoshonean attacks, since the broad Columbia furnished a bulwark to the Wishram on the north bank. They did indeed sometimes live among the Wasco and were identified with them in practically every activity.

Some of the habits of the Wishram-Wasco in warfare can be gleaned from Simpson's account of two raids in which he participated in 1866-68 against the Paiute of the Malheur-Harney district.¹¹⁶

A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of iqta't-sticks [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang, rubbing

¹¹⁵ Franchère, *Narrative*, 330.

¹¹⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 204 f.

the iqta't-sticks together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop: wä+ and mä+." Later Simpson observed that the chief's dream was fulfilled; it did indeed rain. The rasp referred to is the familiar notched rattle of the Basin tribes, a hardwood stick in which a series of semicircular notches have been cut and on which another stick is rubbed up and down.¹¹⁷ Sapir's information was that at this time they danced to the accompaniment of this instrument while singing.¹¹⁸ McGuff stated that the hand drum was also used in the war dance. The war whoop was appropriate not only to this preliminary but in the charge. It was uttered as in the Plains; a high pitched shrill cry while beating the palm against the open mouth. The first of these sounds was given with full voice, the latter whispered.

Enemy camps were located by watching for their fires during the night. Scouts set off in pairs, one of them returning to inform the main body when the camps were located. The attacking force gathered before dawn and charged on the befuddled sleepers with the first show of daylight. Simpson observed that among their preparations for the charge one horse was decked with feathers. If resistance was met they might engage in battle through the whole day until sundown. The war party of Simpson's first raid numbered one hundred men.

A species of bravado was displayed. When the Simpson party had to cross a bridge defended by the Paiute, the chief arranged the main body in front two by two, set the pack horses in the middle of the cavalcade, and designated ten strong brave warriors for a rear guard. "The captain said to us: 'You shall not go back, you shall go ahead to the other side. If the guns will be shot at us, just go ahead. You shall not be afraid. Now that is how we are travelling; the command has been given us. Now we can only die,' he said to us. 'What do you think? Now will you do thus? Are you willing to die? (If so), lift up your hands!' And then we showed our hands. Again he turned round and said to the (others): 'Now this day we shall die. What do you think? Now will you do thus? Are you willing to die?' They said: 'Yes! We all think it well that we should die this day.'" The feat was hazardous to the extreme, but they were at one in agreeing that it was far better to die in battle than to turn back.

A different turn was given to the taunts flung at the enemy. Repeatedly they shouted, "We give you this bullet for nothing" as an accompaniment of a random shot. For instance, the chief delivered himself in this fashion: "I shall tell them that the Great Chief (the President) has made up his mind that we fight for fifty years or one hundred years, so that you had better not be shooting. (Sarcastic: "Don't waste your powder.") You must first see us before you shoot at us; maybe you will run out of ammunition. This one bullet I shall give you just for fun. Do you Paiutes listen, listen to me! And then he shot off his gun."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Wasco specimens in the Field Museum, nos. 60494, 87636.

¹¹⁸ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 206.

¹¹⁹ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 211, 219.

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Nevertheless they did not disparage the enemy. "Thus the Indians have strong hearts; not thus are white people. Indians could pass five days and eat nothing [note the pattern number], nor would they drink any water. So strong are the Wascos, they are not cowards. So also they too, the Paiutes, are not cowards," although elsewhere, "The Paiutes are bad people, they are thieves."¹²⁰

Despite their avowed determination to do or die, the affair terminated in the manner of all Indian affrays. When they met an impasse, a breastwork in an impregnable position defended by the Paiute, and found that one of their number was wounded, one in one hundred, they decided to turn back. To be sure, they had to their credit more than forty scalps, many other slain enemies, a number of prisoners, and some horses and guns.

The characteristic mode of mutilating the enemy dead was to rip open the belly, cut off the head and set it down ten paces distant, and take the scalp. This is repeatedly cited in Simpson's account. To this we can now add that by way of trophies the Wishram took the scalp, hands, feet, and sometimes penis and testes, but not the head. The scalp was of generous size, the whole head skin above ears and eyes, not the mere vortex on the crown taken by Plains tribes.

Women and children were taken prisoners, though slave-taking was not the primary purpose of the Simpson party. On this occasion (1866-68) they were taken to Walla Walla (and released to the mission there?). The Wishram did not ordinarily make slave raids, obtaining their slaves by trade. The treatment of the aged and decrepit, of no value as slaves, is instanced by their mauling the head of an old blind woman with a gun butt.

Armament for war consisted of bow and arrow, shield, and lance. Arrows were provided with stone heads dipped in rattlesnake poison. Dr. W. D. Strong was told that ants were also used to poison arrows. Others had segmented points which snapped off, remaining in the wound (see p. 199). A round hand shield was used (material unknown), painted red and blue. The informant did not know whether stick armor was used. The lance was not made by the Wishram but obtained from the Wasco, who took them from the Paiute in battle. The last were admitted to be very skillful in throwing them. We may suspect however that these were not missiles but short stabbing lances as elsewhere in the west. Such lances had hardwood shafts and flint heads. McGuff sketched a triangular blade, three and a quarter inches long, presumably found on the old Wishram village site, as one of these.¹²¹

War paint was usually red, sometimes yellow. This aligns the Wishram with the Basin tribes. On the other hand the Klamath and Takelma used white.¹²²

A feather headdress was worn in war. This seems to have been the circular crown of the Idaho-Montana tribes, not the full headdress of the Plains.

¹²⁰ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 223, 225.

¹²¹ We received no mention of the flat, round, chipped stones, called "throwing stones" by Steward, found on archaeological sites near The Dalles (*A Peculiar Type of Stone Implement*).

¹²² Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, 207, *Klamath Ethnography*; Sapir, *Notes on the Takelma*, 264.

The feathers were sewn on a buckskin band of two inch width with sinew or buckskin thongs. These were usually uniform in length, although some men mixed long and short feathers. Headdresses of tail feathers were quite highly valued. Eagle feathers were more commonly chosen by chiefs and principal warriors, others using those of various large birds. Such headdresses were also worn at important meetings.

Presumably the Wishram went to war fully clad, for Simpson remarks repeatedly on the nakedness of the Paiute in the account cited above.

Both Wishram and Wasco held a scalp dance for a victorious party immediately on their return. It took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge. "Now then a certain Paiute boy [newly captive] was taken and enclosed in a sack. We went right there up to the fire. Then he was taken out, there he ran about near the fire, and the Paiute boy was captured [as though in war]."¹²³

Several war narratives follow:

*A Paiute Raid.*¹²⁴ One time they went to gather food. The Paiute came on foot. A young woman had a little boy of six. The women ran away but the Paiute caught these two. They took them far south of the Dalles, over the hills in the direction of Warm Springs. When they camped the two were put in the center while the Paiute slept all around to guard them. She told them by signs not to kill her but to take them along. There were a great many Paiute, who were almost entirely naked. The Paiute were very tired because they had travelled far. That woman could not sleep; she watched them. They were sound asleep; she woke her boy. The Paiute lay like dead. She stood up and took her boy on her back. She stepped carefully between their legs and arms; they were sleeping close together. Then she ran homeward.

She went a long way before daylight. Then she said, "I guess they are coming. We will have to hide now." The boy said, "Well, we will hide." There were logs lying near the ground. The boy dug under them and they lay in the hollow with their faces covered. Soon they heard the rumble of the Paiute coming. She warned her boy to keep quiet. Soon they arrived and searched. They were standing on top of the logs, but they left. She told her boy not to get tired; "We will hide all day. One of them will sit down somewhere to watch." They stayed all day.

Over there her relatives were weeping and fasting for their dead. One young girl had been killed with an arrow because she resisted. She had many beads.

Toward evening they fled again. The boy was hungry but he made his

¹²³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 221.

¹²⁴ Told by Mrs. Teio.

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mind strong; he had a little power. When they reached the river she shouted loud, "Waaa." They heard across the river and fetched them in a canoe. The husband clasped his boy and they celebrated. She told how they had been saved. Everyone came and they had a feast.

*Another Paiute Raid.*¹²⁵ Two women had a low underground house. The doorway was just big enough to crawl through. A Paiute scout saw them in there. He was naked except for a buckskin breechclout. One woman said to the other, "We must not be ashamed if he has his will of us." He probably wanted to do this and then kill them. That is why he did not go back to tell the other Paiute. One woman talked by signs to him to distract his attention from the other. He seized the first. The other woman seized his privates; he jerked back and expired instantly. They cut off his scalp and buried him under the house. This happened three or four miles below the Dalles on the Oregon side. The woman tied the scalp to the end of a long stick, and all the people danced and sang because they were glad. The women all painted with red earth.

*A Meeting with the Bannock and Paiute.*¹²⁶ In 1856 I was about sixteen years old. Of course I remember things of importance as though it was yesterday. I was then [a slave] with a Wishram family. News came to the Wasco on the side of the Columbia opposite the Wishram village, that a band of Bannock with their chiefs were coming to Wallula to meet the Columbia River tribes; that they had buffalo robes, dried buffalo meat, and a few horses to trade for dried salmon, Klickitat baskets, etc. The principal object of the Bannock was to make the acquaintance of the Columbia tribes, especially of the medicine men and chiefs. Of course the Indians on the river knew that the Paiute were nearby, and for this reason were a little afraid that they were being invited into a trap. For the Paiute and the river Indians were bitter enemies. Yet the news was spread among the Klickitat, Cascade, and Hood River Indians, in all the villages, between Cascades and Sk!in [a Sahaptin tribe opposite the Deschutes] and from Wai'am to Waiya'xiḡ [the Deschutes villages to Cascade Locks].

A general council was held at Wishram to decide whether to meet the Bannock. People came in canoes from all along the Columbia to this meeting. After several days' consideration a decision was rendered in favor of the Bannock's request. Chiefs from Sk!in, Wai'am, Wasco, and Niḡlu'idiḡ [the Wishram village] advised their people to take their arms with them concealed. Strong men were asked to come from all the villages. Canoes were carried over the falls at the Dalles and Celilo in which to carry these people and their belongings to Wallula. Several young men were chosen to go along, so that if horses were given them these lads could bring them down by land along the river. I went with the man I stayed with [whose slave he was] as one to care for our things and help carry them from the river to our camp when we arrived. We heard that the Bannock were already there. Among the Wai'am [Sahaptins] there were perhaps three men who understood the Paiute and Bannock language, and

¹²⁵ Told by Mrs. Teio.

¹²⁶ Told by Johnny Bullhart, a Shasta-Molala slave.

who also talked it fairly well. We took dried salmon and other things to trade for buffalo robes and horses. I should judge that about one hundred or more went with us; men from all around, in good health and strong. In two days we arrived early in the afternoon; about eight chiefs were with us. We stayed at the river that night, early next morning leaving for what is now Wallula Junction [on the Walla Walla River, not far above its mouth]. We arrived at noon and found a band of Bannock with a few Paiute.

We built our camps a hundred yards from theirs while the river chiefs and prairie chiefs met, talking through an interpreter. The prairie chief (Bannock) spoke first, as follows: "Very well, you river chiefs and your children, we are glad to meet you and hope that we will meet as long as we are here in good faith with one another. We people from the sunrise come here to meet you and make your acquaintance as trading friends (ié'lpét).¹²⁷ We did not come here to have any trouble. We have told our young men to treat you well and avoid trouble; to trade whatever we have brought, buffalo robes and meat, costumes for the chiefs, and some horses. We want to meet with you here for several days and hold dances of all kinds. You dance your fashion and we will show you our styles." When he closed his speech all answered ā-xi (very well). Cxima'wic, a supreme chief of the Sk!in spoke: "Very well, my prairie friends, we hope that what you have said is all true. For our part we simply came at your request with the intention of meeting you in honor as you have said. We also have told our children (meaning those who had accompanied them) not to disturb anything you have nor yourselves. My children are obedient in whatever we tell them. We brought you dried fish flesh; we brought you robes of various kinds made from the fur of the animals we kill near the river. We want in exchange especially horses and buffalo robes. We will stay with you five days at the longest [note the pattern number]. We will let you dance first tonight while we look on." The prairie people agreed to this. The meeting was held out in a big open space [to avoid a surprise attack], no timber nearby, but sage brush and sand hills. Our chiefs told us not to expose any of our weapons unless they started trouble.

It seemed to me that everything was going nicely. That night they danced war[?] dances and others. Our chiefs looked on with their chiefs and some of our men. Others of our men guarded our camp and kept a watch posted. Next night we entertained them, showing our several dances. Everything went nicely up to the last day when we began trading. The chiefs and medicine men traded; our people got horses, about nine of them, and other things. The Bannock brought tobacco in great quantities. Trading went on all day.

That night we had nine horses to look after. I and four others watched until midnight, when we went to bed. Next morning we found our horses missing and that half of the Bannock were gone. Our chiefs asked the prairie chiefs what had become of the horses they had given us. They did not know, were surprised to learn the horses were missing. Our boys tracked the horses where they had been driven over the hills. We discovered the horses had been

¹²⁷ See Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 104, and p. 228 of the present paper.

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stolen back. Then we got busy and started afoot taking short-cuts which the Wai'am knew, being well acquainted with that country. We had not gone very far when we found our horses herded by four men in a deep canyon. When they saw us they fled over the hills. They were chased. One man was overtaken, thrashed, and then allowed to go when badly cut up. They had been resting the horses, waiting until night came when they would travel again. Some of the older Paiute and Bannock had gone on to get a start. When we returned with the horses and they found that one of their men was cut up and pretty badly hurt, they began to be hostile. Of course, our men were ready.

Immediately a fight started. We got in a creek bed and fought from behind the bank, keeping them in the open as much as we could. We got orders from the war chief to leave our positions that night after it was quite dark and to make for the landing, so that if we were followed we would have a chance of getting away. We who had the horses left before the others. Of course, we had struck camp before we began fighting. We did not lose a man in that fight as we fought carefully, close together, and keeping well under the protecting bank. Several of the other side were hit. We swam the horses across the river to the Washington side.

Next morning we waited and found that they had broken camp and were getting away as fast as they could over the hills. The chiefs of the Bannock did not even apologize [!]; it seemed that they wanted to start trouble. Their intention had been to get us there, trade with us, and afterward take the things back, driving us off or killing us if we fought back. But they saw the numbers were about equal and that we showed ourselves brave, so they could do no better than to try to steal the horses alone from us. We reached home safely.

About four or five years afterward they called us again to meet at the same place. The Bannock chiefs sent us word that they would have their children behave and treat us nicely, that they had more horses and many nice buffalo robes. But we decided to pay no attention to their invitation unless we should go for war. The river chiefs held their council at Wasco this time and decided that if they went again it would mean a bloody war, so we, or the chiefs, decided not to go. Word was sent upriver to them that while they were as near as Wallula they might as well come down to Wasco or to Wai'am. Across the river from Wallula was a village to which they signalled and told what they wanted, and through whom we received their invitations.

RELIGIOUS PRACTISES AND BELIEFS

SPIRITS

Practises center almost wholly in shamanism. Furthermore, this was of a relatively simple sort, with a gloss of more typical ceremonialism of the Northwest Coast. There were no ceremonials not connected with shamanistic rites. Beyond this the doctrinal background is relatively unknown to us, but seems to have been but weakly developed.

Secret societies did not exist among the Wishram, nor were there shamans' organizations. The shaman was assisted by a speaker, but clownishness was not part of his activities, nor did buffoonery occur in other connections. Masks were not used, with the sole exception of one to frighten children.

Prayers were directed to the earth, the rivers, the clouds, to the whole category of natural phenomena. The impression derived is that the Wishram thought of themselves as among the earth's creatures, one class of things among the elements of the universe, and on a parity with them, no different from them. The prayers and declarations to the rivers, mountains, and whatever, seem to imply only that the individual wished to fix, to indicate his place among them. It is clear that the natural phenomena played only a passive rôle; they were not spirits from which power could be obtained. The exception was thunder, which figured as a spiritual entity, and as such, as a guardian. Their function appears in the naming rites: "We want the mountains, the rivers, the creeks, the bluffs, the timber to know that this man or woman is now named so and so. We want to let the fishes, the birds, the winds, snow, and rain, the sun, moon, and stars know that so and so has become as alive again. His name will be heard again when this man is called." In an account of the Smohallah rites, which certainly incorporate the ancient views, the sun was more frequently appealed to in prayer, the moon and stars less often.

The spirits from which power was obtained were animals, birds, reptiles, insects, and fish, that is, inhabitants of the physical world, not the physical world itself. Their number was large; there were mentioned, grizzly and common bear, buffalo, wolf, coyote, cougar, wild cat, deer, mountain animals generally; eagle, raven, birds of the mountains, lakes and rivers generally, both large and small; rattlesnake, mountain lizard, turtle; sturgeon; insects; thunder. The list is not complete.

There was at least one anthropomorphic spirit who figures as a guardian, Itc'ixyan, mentioned in a Wasco tale. She dwelt in the waters of the Columbia, and figured as a protector of fishermen and hunters of water animals.¹²⁸ A water-monster (itcxi'un), living in the big whirlpools and eddies of the Columbia was also a guardian. Thunder was a large bird which caused lightning when it spat.

¹²⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 260-263. The Chinook equivalent is Iqamiã'itx (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, 230).

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These guardian spirits (iayułmax, itca'yulułmax [f.]) were by no means of the same potency. A shaman could not cure any one who had been bewitched unless his own spirit was more powerful than the spirit intrusive in the patient. Hopeless cases were those bewitched by the spirits of the grizzly, water-monster, mountain lizard, eagle, sturgeon, cougar, and turtle. Of these the grizzly and water-monster bewitchings were most fateful. Even the most powerful shamans would not attempt to cure these.

Those who had sturgeon spirits were exceptionally brave; no matter what wounds they might have received they would not succumb, just as a sturgeon's vitality is great. It may be deeply cut without being killed. War chiefs almost always had for spirits, sturgeons, rocks, or trees. Some of them might be struck by arrows but they could not be wounded, and if they did penetrate, these men would not die. Only those who had weak spirits or none at all were killed.

Certain spirits gave one the power to move stealthily, to hide readily, and be hard to shoot. Such were mountain lizards, snakes, small insects, and small birds. Only those with more powerful spirits could spy them out and shoot them.

One who had a deer spirit became a good hunter of deer. He dreamed of where they were to be found. The deer talked to [told?] him. Such a man never ate deer meat, save when sick and about to die, he would ask for the flesh, eat a small piece and in a few days be well again.

A man with a rattlesnake spirit would not be bitten by them. He could safely pick them up. He skinned them, dried the skin, and mixed it with his tobacco. Only such a man could smoke this. He could also send his snake (spirit) to bite someone.

There were other mythical beings who were not guardian spirits. Of these we know of gaiaba'xam, a land monster. This was described as resembling an alligator, provided with a rattle like a rattlesnake, and which left a big track as it crawled.¹²⁹ They were plentiful in holes on the north bank of the Columbia, it was said, "but blasting for the road must have driven them out!" The following tales were told of this:

Two boys killed one and got its spirit. During a war they split its hide, put it on, and did wonderful things.

A Spokane girl of ten or thereabouts was swallowed by one. They found the hole it was in, built a fire in the mouth of the cave, and smothered the monster. A lone Spokane man crawled in and brought it out. When they cut him open, they found the girl whole inside.

Cannibal women figure in the folk-tales. It cannot be said that these were entities of the same sort as the spirits, but inasmuch as they are spoken of in everyday life, they were something more tangible than mere actors of the myths. Atlat'afia was a huge stupid ogress, represented in a mask used to frighten children as having an ugly face, big eyes and ears, and said to have been striped like her children. She stole human children which she devoured; her children were fed snakes, frogs, toads and the like. Her husband of the tales was (Horned?) Owl. Akxa'qusa was another cannibal woman. She may have been

¹²⁹ Cf. Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 117.

only a creation of the tales, but she was associated in everyday life with a wicked multiple-barbed arrowpoint, named for her. She was said to have once descended on the Wishram village and eaten all its inhabitants.

It is clear that a burden was imposed on the recipient of power not to abuse it. Thus a Wasco tale turns on such a case. A youth who has been given power by the elk is induced by his evil father to kill them needlessly. The elk takes him to task and withdraws his influence.¹³⁰

On the subject of the personal soul, we have nothing save a recorded word, wahu'tk, meaning life, spirit, wind, breath.

ACQUIRING POWER

The acquisition of power was open to everyone; sex was no bar to it. Success in life was contingent on acquiring some power from the spirits, yet some never acquired any. Since the measure of success was held to be directly dependent on the extent of power, and this was held to vary from one individual to another, we cannot but conclude that the actual causal sequence was the reverse: those who were successful credited themselves with unusual spirit power. It does not seem possible that anyone would maintain failure in his quest for power. The very secrecy maintained about one's spirit experiences offered opportunity to keep that fact concealed until occasion should arise when some success was achieved to hint at the possession of power. It does not seem clear that the lad who returned from his quest admitted anything more than that he had an experience, without revealing its content. Again, at spirit dances those with power hinted at their spirits by their actions, but no more. The full revelation came only at the point of death when all the details were recited. Under such conditions the stage was set to assume a very close causal relationship between spirit power and material success.

The revelation at death or in dire need had a form quite stereotyped. The dying man called for some article connected with his spirit, told how he came by his power, and recited that as an omen it would storm. Thus, a man who had a wolf as a guardian had its backbone set on a pole, one with a deer spirit then ate deer meat for the first time; in a Wasco tale a man whose guardian was an elk asked for five elkskins.¹³¹

Certain individual tabus also revealed the nature of the spirit guardian. Thus, the fact that a man refrained from deer meat actually revealed that the deer was one of his spirits. Others would not eat fish, or certain kinds of berries, and so on. (We surmise that this does not imply that the berry was itself a guardian spirit.)

This reticence about spirit experiences is strikingly dissimilar from the attitude of the Klamath, e.g., who do not hesitate to make theirs known explicitly on proper occasion. On the other hand it conforms to the practise of such groups as Ojibway.¹³² It may be that in this the Klamath follow the Californian

¹³⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 257-259.

¹³¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 221-223, 258.

¹³² Compare Radin, *Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting Among the Ojibwa*.

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tradition, where religion rests lightly and in fact guardian spirits were almost wholly unknown, while the Wishram conform to the more general American view. Again, it does not appear that a Wishram loses spirit power while mourning, as among the Klamath.

The guardianship of a spirit or individual protector could be gained only when one was young. After a certain period the power to acquire it vanished and if one had not by that time been fortunate enough to gain the protection of a spirit he would remain so unprotected ever after. The protection of a spirit was gained in some solitary place, generally in the mountains. After a period of "training" for a spirit one would appear to the young man in a dream or vision. He would assure him of his protection, and would give him some sign by which his protecting presence would be made known, or some means by which wounds inflicted by a spirit could be healed. The power was granted also of being able to interpret the language of the spirits. For instance, one who had gained the protection of Coyote could tell, on hearing a coyote's howl, what person was going to die. One that had the Rattlesnake as his guardian spirit could heal all wounds inflicted by a rattlesnake. Supposing one had the Thunder as his spirit; if he were severely wounded and expected to die, he would sing his spirit song, calling upon the protection of the thunder. If the thunder heard the call, it would rain and thunder at a particular time of the day, even if the sky were cloudless and the weather absolutely clear, and the wounded man was sure to recover; if it did not rain, he would die. No one ever revealed how he came by his spirit; only at the hour of death he disclosed all the mysteries pertaining to it. The belief in these spirit powers is still very strong and many Indians who seem to be thoroughly civilized and sophisticated have spirits secretly.

A child began to "train" (aḵḷa'y', literally, moves himself), that is, prepare for a spirit experience, when still quite young, six to twelve years old ("when he can talk plainly"). He was sent out at night to some distant lonely place, to a lake, the mountains, the river, a large grove of big trees, or some big rock pile. This was always at a considerable distance¹³³ from home, in a place which was usually quite unfrequented. He was bidden to travel about and finish an appointed task at the designated spot. This was always stereotyped; piling up rocks, pulling up young oak or fir trees, or making withes of the saplings. The task was accommodated to the child's strength; at first small rocks, e.g., were piled, larger ones later. This was looked upon as physical preparation for life as well as opening the way to acquiring a spirit.¹³⁴ When the assignment was to some inaccessible and distant place, the lad was ordered to leave some sign that he had been there. He was given a carved piece of wood or a peculiarly shaped stone to leave; something that a person (one was always sent to investigate) would recognize without doubt. Such carved images represented bear, deer, birds, or fish. Or he might be instructed to return with a branch or plant to be gotten only in this particular place. The rock piles and the withes

¹³³ McGuff gives a curious instance of the application of the pattern number in his notes: "more than five miles."

¹³⁴ The Thompson looked on training during the vision quest in the same light (Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, 317 f).

that he made were proof in themselves. Should the inspector find he had slighted his task, he was sent back next night to complete it.¹³⁵

One such place was a cave, called *tea'mogi*, a half mile below *Nixlu'idix* on the Columbia bank. At high water this is under water. Boys were sent at night to dive into its entrance; it seemed to draw them in as they entered. There were a number of such places nearby.

One man sent five brothers to stay in this cave. Something threw snakes or bugs on one of them. He started to run out but was cut in two before he got away. The others tried successively; some stayed through two or three experiences, the fourth stayed through four. But all of them were killed. Then this man sent the fifth, his last son. This one knew how to stay; he was the last. He stayed there through five nights and got great shamanistic power.

At *waca'k'ukc*, about three-quarters of a mile below the village *cq'ô'nana*, was a big rock in the water, at which boys sought spirits.

The lad was sent at irregular intervals to spend a night at each of several lonely spots. He continued until he received an experience. The child knew nothing of what he was to expect, nor did the one who sent him on the quest. While he was sitting awaiting it, the spirit animal approached with a great roaring sound, accompanied by flashes of fire, a high wind, hail and rain. The child was frightened helpless, or fell into a trance ("a kind of sleep") in which he seemed to dream the words spoken by this animal. He dreamt that the power spoke like a human: "When some one is sick, you will cure him; you must then follow me singing." The acquisition was looked upon as more or less involuntary.

In a Wasco tale, a boy was visited by an elk, who said: "If you will serve me and hear what I say, I will be your master and will help you in every necessity. You must not be proud. You must not kill too many of any kind of animal. I will be your guardian spirit."¹³⁶

The lad was sick, helpless and frightened. A shaman was employed to relieve and to restore him. Many of them got more than one spirit at a time; this made them especially ill and unstrung. But they were accordingly stronger in the future, and correspondingly greater shamans. A shaman was respected according to the number of spirits he had, and paid in proportion. Some had as many as five or six familiars, either all mountain birds and animals, or a variety of river and lake fishes, river and lake birds.

THE SHAMAN'S INAUGURAL DANCE

A more elaborate mode of relieving the visionary was adopted when an older lad or young woman went out with the deliberate intention of seeking spirit power of sufficient potency to establish himself as a shaman. Its primary purpose was to provide occasion for the inauguration of his career.

When he returned he told his relatives, his parents primarily. They prepared a nicely tanned elkskin as a dance platform, stretching it on a rectangular frame of boards set on edge so that it lay a foot from the ground. This was placed in the house with a painted post, as thick as one's wrist, set upright beside it.

¹³⁵ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 187.

¹³⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 257.

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Everyone gathered in the house at night. The lad took his position on the stretched elkhide, dancing on it that he might not touch the ground, holding on to the pole as he danced. He sang five songs. Others sang with him, keeping time by rapidly beating with short sticks (a foot long) on a long board laid before them. One drummer was provided with a long pole (one of fourteen feet in length) swung in a horizontal position from the roof beams by a rope tied to each end. This was at a convenient height so that a man could swing it end-on against a plank set up for the purpose. The one who used this drum had to be thoroughly familiar with the songs; he was well paid by all the singers. (Yet a Klamath informant told Spier that in his youth he had worked one of these drums for the Dalles people.)

When he finished, his father and other relatives danced on the elkhide, one after another, singing their spirit songs. They danced to help him. While he was dancing his mother went about giving things away. When a man of strong power danced to help the youth, she made him a gift. Those who sang (relatives alone?) also gave things away. These were slung over a cord stretched across the house; some things placed among them symbolized horses to be given away.

When the lad had gotten power, they appealed to a shaman to treat him. The shaman danced and gave presents away; he danced for a long time. Then they helped the lad onto the shaman's back, who then danced with him and sang to make him strong. The boy became unconscious and stiff as a board. He was laid beside the elkskin, where the shaman blew over him until the boy began to sing. Then he rose again, reascended the elkskin platform, and danced once more. Now he was strong.

Then the boy tried his power. He called out: "Who is sick?" Someone came forward and lay down. He sucked the spot, singing; others were dancing and singing, too, to help him. He took out the sickness, held it in his hand; black matter ran from it. He swallowed it to feed his spirit.

The performance lasted for five successive nights. On the last morning his parents gave away quantities of gifts. Just when the shaman gave his aid and the neophyte first tried his powers is not clear in our account, but it was probably during the last of the five nights.

SHAMANS' PERFORMANCES

Spirit dances were held only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March. These were occasions when those with spirit power met together to sing their spirit songs and to dance. There can be no doubt that the circumscription of such performances to midwinter aligns this with the "sacred period" of the typical Northwest Coast tribes, among whom spirit power returned to the performers at this time and when alone they could dance.

Each person, men and women, sang but once during the night, but they might repeat the song for as many nights as the affair continued. They never sang in this fashion by day. The dance form consisted in part of alternately

flinging the body forward with arms outstretched and then leaning as far back as possible.¹³⁷ The swinging pole-drum was also used at these performances. They gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practise, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.

Since a person would never speak of his spirit until his death, the only way in which the people generally knew of it was at such performances. Then the singer referred to his spirit in his songs. He also wore a symbol; the feathers of the bird, a strip of skin or a pelt, a necklace of snake skin or of fish vertebrae. Since these were peculiar to the visionaries, they never borrowed parts of such costumes from one another. They also showed what their spirits were by their actions. One with a wolf spirit wore a hat and belt of wolf skin; if he had both wolf and eagle he imitated them, spreading his fingers and waving his arms in imitation of an eagle's flight, e.g. Others imitated the cries of their spirits; as *wagwā'li gwā'li* for the raven, and *Lā'zi Lā'zi* for a rattlesnake. They did not always wear appropriate costume but contented themselves with these imitative performances.¹³⁸

A probable element of these dances of which we were not told is the custom of dancing as close to the fire as one could bear. This was not only the habit of the Klamath in one direction, but characteristic of the Northwest Coast proper as well. Its presence in this region is attested at least by the references in a Wasco tale. This describes just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals, wherein the singers carry others on their backs as they dance over the fire; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.¹³⁹

The reaction of a person not at the moment a dancer took a definite form. When a man or woman heard his own song being sung, he "became like fire inside; wild." He called on some one to cut his flesh so that he could eat it. This one pinched up the flesh of the arm of the one requesting it, cut off a bit, and gave it to him to eat. He also wiped away his own blood with his hand and licked it. "That was his spirit doing that." Next morning he bathed the wound with cold water. This was done only once during any one dance. He did not have to make a present to the one who cut his flesh for him. A man who went to dances all winter would have a row of scars along each arm. Only the arms were cut in this fashion. It is not quite clear what was meant by "hearing his own song." It may mean that a man was not always the leader when his song was sung, or that it continued after he had ceased. Or as is more likely, once a man

¹³⁷ The round or squaw dance form was unknown to the Wishram in any of their rites; it was, however, used by the Yakima.

¹³⁸ This performance closely parallels the guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé (Spindlen, *The Nez Percé Indians*, 262-264).

¹³⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 311-312; see also 95-99 and compare 129-131.

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had sung during the dance, his song was repeated from time to time although he did not dance again. Another possibility is that he heard someone who had the same spirit singing, although it is not likely that any two individuals had identical songs.

This type of activity had its analog among the Blackfoot, where bits of flesh were cut in rows from the arms, legs, and trunk as offerings to the sun.¹⁴⁰ Specific inquiry among the Wishram failed to reveal the presence of the rites of the Kwakiutl and Nootka, wherein skewered flesh was torn loose, nor the biting practises of their cannibal dancers.¹⁴¹

An account of a more ambitious performance (or perhaps of two) was contributed by Mrs. Teio. Sa'lm̄in (or Wa'kātca ?) was a shaman who did not practise curing. He had a daughter who had a little power. When she danced she wore a frontlet of beaded pendants on her forehead, which hung down to cover her eyes, so that no one could see them. He built a large dance house with a bench running along all its sides. It was a plank house perhaps forty feet long, with a single fireplace. He also provided the usual elkskin dance platform in the center of the house, near which was an upright post to hold to. People from everywhere were invited to his dance, for which he had a feast prepared. The house was so crowded that they sat not only on the bench but on the ground in front of it.

Five young men assisted him. Each had a blanket over his shoulders which was tied about his waist. They knelt in a row in front of a long board with their heads bowed. Each was provided with a short billet of wood which he thumped vertically on the plank in time to the song. These billets were the length and thickness of the forearm, and were held one hand above the other.

The shaman had some (seal?) oil which he poured back and forth in his cupped hands and rubbed over his face. He never got sore eyes. As he sang he danced to and fro in front of the boys. He stood before the five throwing (duck?) feathers into the air. One of the boys' sticks began to sway, pulling him about. He could not let go. It pulled him to his feet; he had a little spirit power. The shaman told some strong men to watch the boy, to grasp him from behind by the blanket which was firmly tied about him. They were to hold him back and make him stay in his place. The boy lay stiff and lifeless but still held the stick upright on his chest, clenched in his hands. Two or four boys lay thus. Then someone with a little power blew on the boy's stick to loosen his grip, so that the spirit would not draw his hands tight and kill him.

My [Mrs. Teio's] two brothers did this: the elder one called the younger to his side. They sat side by side. My younger brother began to sway. The elder one also did a little, but he stopped and began to thump again. The elder then blew on the other's hands, "made it cold," and saved him. "He did not want him singing in that big crowd."

¹⁴⁰ Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, 265; see also Spier, *Plains Indian Sun Dance*, 475, 493.

¹⁴¹ Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl*, 495, 635.

All this time Sa'lm̄n was singing; all the people too. From time to time he threw grease on the fire and drank a little of it. Soon the boy (*sic*) who lay stiff called out and began to sing. They made him sit up and loosened his blanket. Then he went over onto the elkskin and sang. After he began his family gave presents away so that he might sing well. If they had not given things away, he would have gotten sick.

I [Mrs. Teio] saw two boys sing; they had never sung before. One was my cousin. My grandmother gave things away for him. He was her sister's daughter's son.

After these two sang, Sa'lm̄n stopped. Then others who had spirits sang one after another during the night.

Sa'lm̄n's daughter had a bed built high in the house "like an upper story." It was covered so that she lay hidden there all day for the five days of this performance. Every night she sang while dancing on the elkskin. She had acquired a spirit some time before. She was not yet married (and seems to have been sexually immature). While she sang her mother and younger sister went around the fire singing with her. Her father gave away presents each morning.

Each night's performance lasted until morning. They danced in this fashion for five nights. Sa'lm̄n alone knew how to give this dance with the thumping sticks. These were called wa'kc'kw̄it't.

There are two points of comparative interest in this performance; the thumping sticks and the inner chamber for the girl. A stick of a peculiar shape with just these powers was also known in western Washington. The features are alike; the kneeling boy cannot resist the pulling of the stick when its spirit has been sung into it. He is clad in a blanket fastened about his waist, by which his friends attempt to hold him back. The variations are largely in the shape of the stick or board. This has been recorded among the Snuqualmi and Snohomish of Puget Sound, the Quinault on the coast, and the Klallam of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.¹⁴² The inner chamber for the seclusion of the young girl suggests the similar structure of the Northwest Coast tribes used for the seclusion of adolescents and as sleeping-chambers.

CURING PRACTISE AND WITCHCRAFT

The shamanistic cure depended on the extraction of the foreign substance or spirit in the patient's body. There is no evidence of a belief in sickness caused by the loss of the soul, as among the Chinook proper.¹⁴³

There appears not to have been much specialization of function among shamans. Every shaman could cure, although their powers, hence their abilities, were thought to vary. Some among them could further use their powers to inflict harm on other persons, bewitch them. Idiaxi'lalit was the term to designate a curing shaman; idiagē'wam, those who bewitched.¹⁴⁴ (The feminine forms of

¹⁴² Haeberlin and Gunther, *Ethnographische Notizen*, 59; Olson, Quinault ms.; Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, 292.

¹⁴³ Boas, *Doctrine of Souls among the Chinook*, 39.

¹⁴⁴ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 16.

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these terms are itgaxi'lalit and itgacē'wam). Specifically, the specialized rattlesnake and bear shamans of the California tribes had no parallels here. Those who had rattlesnake spirits cured snake bites. Men and women shamans cured in the same fashion.

Calling on a shaman to cure was really only an extension of the belief that anyone could cure himself provided his spirit was sufficiently powerful. This meant in practise, however, that self-curing was largely confined to shamans. Should one of these get hurt, as by being stabbed or breaking a leg, he would sing his spirit song to protect and cure himself. "The spirit was awakened; the power of this creature was received by the person who is helped by it." We are not certain that he would attempt it if he thought himself bewitched. He used no rattle or drum; the audience, who also sang with him to help, beat time with sticks on a long plank. Then an omen would occur; it would rain or thunder. (This was true whatever the spirit he possessed.) Such a rite occurred at home; never in a sweat-lodge, since the use of these structures had no relation to curing.

An excellent instance of this was recorded as part of a Wasco war narrative. A desperately wounded man was brought home to where a scalp dance was held.

Now the man had become sick. So then a long pole was set up, and then ceremonial feathers were tied on top of the pole to a wolf's backbone, the man's guardian spirit. The man said: "Now I shall die, and do you all hear what I have to say, what I learned when I was a boy. Now then I saw something [on my spirit quest] as a boy, so that now I shall tell you all what it was that spoke with me as a boy, what I recognized. Now it is going to rain a little. Thus I know, I found it out as a boy. I saw black (clouds) passing over the sky, and the sky turned white. And then it rained. If it will not rain and if it will not hail, then truly I shall die." Then it started in to rain and to hail, and the wounded man said; "Now I shall bathe in the water, and you will carry me." So then he was carried to the water and put into it. And then the man recovered; surely indeed the Paiutes had shot at his guardian spirit. He did not die, he became well. Every one saw him, also I here saw him.¹⁴⁵

This illustrates as well how the vision experience was told only *in extremis*.

Those who had insufficient power to effect a self-cure had recourse to a shaman. An emissary was sent to offer the shaman so much in valuables for his aid. If he considered this insufficient, he refused. Another person was then sent to offer more. The first messenger could not go again, because by the very refusal it was shown that he was an unlucky person and had increased the patient's likelihood of dying. Payment was offered in the form of canoes, furs, stone bowls, dip nets, spears, and in the historic period, horses, cattle, blankets, and money. No payment was made unless the cure was successful; the shaman was sometimes held to a cure within a limited time, else he was not paid. In that event another one was called in.

When the shaman felt that the cure was more difficult than he alone could master, he invited another to work with him.

If you should become sick, then you think to yourself: "whom shall I take that is a good medicine-man?" You give him three horses and two oxen and twenty dollars. The medicine-man says: "I shall not succeed in making him well, he is too sick." One more medicine-man has been taken; now they are two. He has been given four horses, one cow and ten dollars, and two blankets.

¹⁴⁵ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 221-223.

Now the medicine-man says: "Now it is well that we two doctor, we shall doctor right. Now we two shall make him well." And the medicine-man says (to his companion): "It seems that you thought you are a poor medicine-man. It seems that this man over there has become sick, so that we two shall doctor him now. Now he will get well. What do you think, O medicine-man, for your part?" He says: "Yes! now both of us shall doctor him." The two of them doctor him, but he has not got well. Now the man dies. Both of the medicine-men are killed, (who) were doctoring him. Those two were wicked, they had "shot" him.

Again one man has become sick. And again a medicine-man has been taken; he has been given two horses, and three blankets, and ten dollars. Also a woman has been taken (who) is to doctor. She has been given, has been paid as her fee, one horse, and one cow, and two blankets, and five dollars. Now the two of them doctor; now they have put down time-beating sticks [a plank was pounded with sticks] and he sings; the medicine-man keeps on doctoring.

Now the medicine-man says: "Now he will not die, now we two shall make him well." Again, just so the medicine-woman says: "Now he will not die, now we two shall make him well." Now the two of them say: "Now tomorrow we two shall go home and we shall completely doctor him." Now the two of them have just completely doctored him. And then they are about to go home. They say: "Now where are the horses?" [in payment of their services]. A boy goes to get the horses.¹⁴⁶

The drumming on a long plank was done by ten men hired for the purpose. The shaman, like a chief, had a spokesman, who repeated aloud what the spirit communicated to the shaman. (We have no information whether the same individual always assisted a shaman).

All pre-adolescent children were sent away, especially babies. There was the danger that the "disease" taken from the patient's body might lodge in theirs; older people were not so susceptible (because they had spirits of their own to resist?).

There was a regular costume for practitioners, which consisted essentially of a cap bearing eagle feathers. In addition, the shaman painted his face in various colors, wore buckskin leggings and shirt, and, we presume, articles peculiar to his familiar spirit as described above. Shamans had rattles made of a bunch of dew-claws strung together; we do not know that they were used in curing, however.

A shaman always smoked before starting to cure, taking five puffs of his pipe and inhaling the smoke. This made his cure more effective since it made his spirit more active and strong.

A big fire was built beside which the patient was laid. The shaman sang his spirit songs to the accompaniment of the din created by whacking at the plank-drum, warmed his hands repeatedly at the fire beside him, and placed them on the sick man's stomach. The spirit power in his hands drew the "disease" toward them. Then he applied his mouth to the spot to suck it out. (A tube was not used). In this manner he drew out "blood, bad stuff." Having gotten it into his mouth, he spat it into a vessel of water "to cool it." It was then more easily handled. Ordinarily it remained invisible to the laity although other shamans could see it readily enough. He would sometimes show a little object as the offending substance.

Mrs. Teio's niece, Julia Wahpat is a shaman. She can take "dirt out of one's eyes." She blows into them and then sucks it out.

¹⁴⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 179-183.

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Matter-of-fact procedures must also have accompanied shamanistic cures, or been invoked for common disorders. We have no data on these. It is observed, however, in an account that a convalescent was given fish-soup, made of the heads of salmon and white salmon.¹⁴⁷

Bewitching seems to have been common, or perhaps most serious illnesses and injuries were laid to this. When serious trouble arose between two Wishram, one might pay a shaman to bewitch ("poison") his rival. A few days' illness and the bewitched one died. As he expired he spoke the very words used by the shaman in sending his spirit on its mission, in which the shaman instructed it just how the deed was to be accomplished. The dying man named his rival as the instigator. The accused was tried by the chief who assessed a fine as blood-money; should he fail to pay, he was ordered shot. The relatives of the bewitched man might not wait for action of the chief's council but take vengeance into their own hands. Five or six were sometimes slain in a feud begun by a charge of witchcraft before the case came before the council. The fine was especially heavy in that event, since the guilty man was held responsible for the additional deaths as well. The chief rarely bothered with feuds of this sort among the lowest class. It will be observed that the malignant shaman came off scot free in these cases. He was not guilty in any sense, since he acted merely as the agent of the one who hired him.

Nevertheless a shaman was killed if he was thought guilty of witchcraft on his own account. This was not by order of the chief's council, but an act of revenge on the part of the survivors. If it was generally believed that the shaman had received his deserts, no action was taken against the avenger. Ordinarily a shaman and his family, like that of a war chief, occupied an exceptional position. Neither the man nor his family was likely to be molested; people were too much in fear of a shaman's powers. For instance, the murder of a member of his family was a very rare occurrence. The shaman had the privilege of demanding whatever he chose by way of recompense for the killing. Chiefs were too much in fear of shamans to hold them to account, not that a shaman would bewitch a chief, but he might take revenge on some member of his family. Shamans were not ordinarily killed because they failed of a cure. But they would be if it was thought that they had bewitched the patient in the course of their practise. This is the explanation of the killing of the practitioners mentioned above.

The shaman called in to cure one bewitched proceeds exactly as described above. That his effectiveness was limited by the relative powers of his own and the intrusive spirit is clear from the following account. Even though the patient might die, the shaman might sometimes extract a little object from his body. This he would hold in his hands, enquiring of the surviving relatives what they wanted done. They would take revenge by cutting it in two; then the bewitching shaman would go out of his mind or die.

The following statement by an eighty-five year old shaman named Smith establishes the relative powers of the spirits and how much curing in a witch-

¹⁴⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

craft case depended on this factor. It expresses as well the dangers that inhered in the procedure, the prohibition of untoward action, and the truculence of certain shamans.

This doctoring is true. I have been curing for more than sixty years and have met all kinds of disease. Some diseases are bad. When a person is bewitched, he will surely die unless the shaman has a much stronger spirit than that killing the patient. When a person dies of witchcraft, the body cracks in many places, although they may appear before he expires. Such cracks are not deep, perhaps only an eighth of an inch, just enough to let the blood run freely. The body turns various colors, especially red and blue stripes lengthwise of the body. This shows that he was bewitched by a strong shaman. A shaman who undertakes to take such a spirit out of the sick must have a stronger spirit himself. If not, even though he draws it out, it will kill the shaman and both will die. In five days the shaman is dead. Some important bone of his body breaks, a leg or his spine. This happens, not from any accident, but while he is lying sick abed. So curing is very dangerous and a shaman must be treated well.

This is especially true where a family has many children. When a shaman visits their home the children must remain very quiet. In particular they must not run behind his back. To pass behind his back when he does not see it may frighten him, disturb his spirit, and cause him harm. They must also be careful not to drop anything, to make a sudden report, so that he is startled. If they do, he gets angry and may bewitch some member of the family.¹⁴⁸

A person who has as a spirit an eagle, grizzly bear, cougar, or wolf, in fact any animal that will eat human flesh, is "bad" (malignant). He especially must be treated with circumspection. These spirits want human flesh when they can get it, hence such a shaman will bewitch someone just to satisfy his spirit, which is just the same as feeding it.

FIRST SALMON RITE

A ceremony over the first salmon taken in a run of the fish was celebrated by tribes from northern California to northern British Columbia. Throughout the same area there were special attitudes and behavior toward this fish.¹⁴⁹ Both features were shared by the Wishram.

The first salmon run of the year on the Columbia River is that of the spring (or chinook) salmon. They appear first in March and the run is at its height in mid-April.¹⁵⁰

The procedure with the first salmon was rigorously followed, for if the proper behavior was not observed few of the salmon would be caught. The first salmon caught (sometimes the first few) was carried home by the fisherman and laid aside. No further fish could be taken until the proper rite had been carried out over this one. No one might touch this fish except a shaman (any shaman), who cut off the two flanks of the fish, leaving the head, backbone, and tail in one piece. He made incisions at short intervals in each flank piece, inserting bits of dry cedar wood to hold them open. The backbone-piece was also prepared for roasting by cleaning it. Stones were heated in a shallow pit and arranged to form a flat surface when the wood was consumed. A thick layer of choke cherry leaves was heaped on this, on which the pieces of the several

¹⁴⁸ Both prohibitions also occurred among the Klamath and comparable ideas were shared by Kwakiutl and Thompson.

¹⁴⁹ For a discussion, see Gunther, *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

¹⁵⁰ So our informant, but Cobb puts the run from January to March (*Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, 8) and Lewis and Clark set their first appearance in 1806 at April 19th. (Hosmer, II, 261).

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salmon were laid covered with mats. From time to time the covering was raised to see if the fish were baked.

All the people of the town attended the feast. Other food had been prepared and spread out on the ground. Old people came to take some of it home. Everyone, even children, was given some of the salmon to eat. (Sapir's informant stated that "all the old men eat it, each a small piece," but this does not preclude the others).¹⁵¹ Prayers were said at the feast by anyone. "He prayed over water, salt, fish, etc.," to the accompaniment of drum and bell. This suggests that the reference is to the days of the Smohallah cult. This being so, it is possible that this was the Christian grace taken over by both Smohallah and Shaker adherents. Some certainty attached to this suggestion since prayers were said neither at the fishing places nor at the time of cutting the salmon.

Lewis and Clark observed the rite at Skilloot village (ila'xluit, Wishram) at the Dalles, April 19, 1806. "The whole village was filled with rejoicing to-day at having caught a single salmon, which was considered as the harbinger of vast quantities in four or five days. In order to hasten their arrival, the Indians, according to custom, dressed fish and cut it into small pieces, one of which was given to each child in the village."¹⁵²

The rite not only insured the salmon run to everyone but made the fishing stage at which the first salmon was caught particularly lucky. The rite was not made for runs of salmon later in the year.

Inquiry was made concerning other attitudes and observances toward the salmon found elsewhere on the coast. Salmon bones were ordinarily discarded, not returned to the river. There was no belief in a connection between salmon and twins. Salmon, in fact all fish and game, were susceptible to the presence of mourners. If a baby died, its father might not go near the fishing places, else the salmon run would cease. The same tabu applied to a widower or widow. The latter might not handle fresh fish or game without giving bad luck to the fishermen and hunters, and should she eat it, the game was likely to disappear almost in its entirety. It is not clear that the five day sweating for purification that followed burial entirely removed the prohibition.

The chinook or spring salmon, as the first of the year, came in for special regard. They were very particular about how this fish was caught. No one could talk casually and carelessly about it. Boys were told: "You must not say 'I am going to catch the spring salmon, to kill him.' He was a person. If you say that you might be drowned." Boys who disregarded this and said they were going to catch many, always met with bad luck; they might be drowned, or at least would catch only a few.

OMENS

A number of omens (imqxa'tc) were recognized.

A rainbow was a sign of a birth, in fact, the end of the arc pointed to the very spot. When a double rainbow was seen it meant that there had been two indi-

¹⁵¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

¹⁵² Hosmer, II, 261.

vidual births or that twins were born. Further, the nature of the rainbow affected the weather. If it was a "bad rainbow" the day would become unseasonable, excessively hot in summer or stormy in winter. On the other hand, if the rainbow was "good," the weather would turn very pleasant. Mrs. Teio said, however, that a birth always caused a bad day; it stormed or became hot. This coupling of birth, rainbow, and storm was common to all Upper Chinookan peoples (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) as well as the Wishram.¹⁵³

"If at night the moon is seen with a star closely following her to one side, that truly' (signifies that) now some woman is soon to become a widow.¹⁵⁴ If the moon is seen with two stars following her, that (signifies that) the woman will die and her two children will die. Now, if, when it is yet daylight, the moon is seen with a rainbow about it, truly that (signifies that) somebody will be murdered secretly." The howl of a coyote also foretells the approach of death.

Sneezing was a sign, among the Wasco, that someone was talking about the sneezer.¹⁵⁵

Certain acts also affect the weather. When the people were berry picking on the southern slopes of Mount Adams, boys would sometimes climb far up, where they would pull up quantities of a certain plant. This would bring a storm which would cause the people to move away. If one stirred about in a hole in the rocks near the Wishram village of Nixlu'idix, the wind would rise.¹⁵⁶ One must not point at the moon shining brightly in winter else a great frost would take place; "the moon would become ashamed."¹⁵⁷ The croaking of frogs was a sign of approaching rain, which presumably has a basis in fact.

Walking over the dead caused bad luck; the result was laming a leg. Grains of Indian corn were not eaten because they were considered to be bones of the dead. The latter must be a rationalization about an unfamiliar food, arisen possibly since the coming of the whites, since the Wishram were far from any agricultural area.

VISIONS

Dreams were believed to prefigure coming events. It is possible that these were derived from the guardian spirit, but it was not so stated. That is, there is not much difference between a dream in which a hunter was told by his spirit, the deer, where deer were to be found, and the following:

A war party set out against the Northern Paiute. On the night of the first day "we camped. And then we dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of iqta't-sticks [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And

¹⁵³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 191. A connection between births and the weather is also conceived by Thompson, Klamath, Northern Maidu, and Eastern Pomo.

¹⁵⁴ This is also a Wasco omen (see tale, p. 277).

¹⁵⁵ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 193, 106, 293.

¹⁵⁶ The same belief is entertained by the Klamath.

¹⁵⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 193.

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then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die, I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang, rubbed the iqta't-sticks together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us towards the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream?'"¹⁵⁸

A prophecy of the coming of the whites was reputed to have had its source in another vision. "Long ago, I believe, the people learned that now whites would soon come. One old man, I believe, learned of it at night. Then he dreamt; he saw strange people, they spoke to him, and showed him everything; and he heard something like three or four Indian songs. In the morning he spoke to all the people. And then everybody gathered together to hear him—women, men, children, old men—everybody. He told the people what he had seen in his sleep at night. And then they gathered to hear him; they danced every day and every night. They were made glad because of his story." He then became quite explicit in describing what the whites were like and what they would bring. "For days and nights they danced. They were not at all hungry, truly they did their best (in dancing). Everything they saw—ax, hatchet, knife, stove. . . . Then indeed they would again jump up and down; they did their best strongly. And truly things are just so to-day; now surely the old man dreamt just that way."¹⁵⁹ This has all the ring of a Ghost dance performance, the revelation of a great change, the dancing by the whole population, the ecstasy and joy, yet there is nothing specific of the Ghost dance about it. The prophecy was not that of the return of the old life and the coming of the dead. Unfortunately other details are lacking, e.g., the form of the dance, prescription of conduct, etc.

THE SMOHALLAH CULT

We have several times referred to descriptions of earlier religious practices as pertaining to the Smohallah cult. This seems to have been prevalent among the Wishram as a substitute for their ancient forms, or rather, as a modification of them. The Smohallah cult still flourishes on the Yakima Reservation in the form of the Pom-pom or Feather religion. It still has its adherents among the handful of Wishram and Wasco, but many of them, perhaps the majority, are converts to Methodism and that pseudo-Christian sect of the Pacific Northwest, the Shakers.

The difficulty in assigning what follows definitely to the Smohallah cult is that one of us (Spier) believes that the historic cults, Smohallah, Pom-pom, Shakers, and the two Ghost Dance movements, were merely so many special expressions of an old form of revelatory religion that prevailed in this general area. Much of what follows indicates a recurring pattern of behavior, the specific instances of which cannot be easily assigned to one or another of the historic cults. For convenience of reference only we present the whole as pertaining to the

¹⁵⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 207.

¹⁵⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 229-231.

earlier historic cult of this region, that of Smohallah. We will reserve discussion of this point to another place.¹⁶⁰

"They worshipped the sun chiefly; sometimes they spoke of the moon and stars in this connection.¹⁶¹ In their prayers they mentioned the sun more frequently. The one who prayed stood up in the center of the house, their church. (This church was made with wall and roof covering of tule mats. It was generally very long, about forty to fifty feet, and four or five paces wide.) He or she would speak in a very low tone while another person beside him would repeat the words louder. As soon as he was finished the drums were beaten. There were usually five drums in use. The drummers were at one end of the church. A row of women down one side and a row of men down the other danced face to face. They danced in place, hopping up and down, with their extended right hands holding an eagle tail feather. [In an account by Mrs. Teio, the dancers held their arms flexed, swinging their hands back and forth before their chests].

"The church costumes were decorated with eagle feathers and yellow paint. Their faces were painted various colors. The wings of eagles and other large birds were used as fans when it was warm. [The lower ends of these were buckskin-covered].

"The one who preached was a person who had died and come to life again. On this account the Indians never buried sooner than five days and nights, since many of them came to life again. He told what he saw in the other country, as they called it. Some saw the same things and people there; others saw different things. This religion was strongly believed in and is to this day by the older Indians. They knew there was another place to go after death in this world."

The following account of his experience was told by Charley. He is one of the preachers of this religion, having "died" some fifty years ago (i.e., about 1855-60).

"What I saw, how I felt just before my last breath, was similar to what my people saw [me do?]. I was dead three days. Just before I died I saw my mother who had died some years before. She was high up in the air. After I died I saw a beautiful country, with grass knee high and as green as green can be, no brush nor any kind of stick. I walked along until I finally saw some bushes. Reaching these I saw a person standing at the edge of it. I saw these were huckleberry bushes with nice green berries on them. I thought at once that I must pick one and try it. This person said: 'No; you must not pick any of these berries.' He was standing right in the pathway. He stepped aside and told me to go on, warning me not to put my fingers on the berries. I heeded and went along.

"After a while I came to a place where there were many green fir trees, cedar, and other timber. I saw a person standing there, also in the pathway. Oh, how nice the trees looked. I thought I would take a small limb of one, but before I did, or spoke, this person repeated what the other had said. He gave way to

¹⁶⁰ See also Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870*.

¹⁶¹ This narrative is that of Pete McGuff.

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me and I went on, finding at the next place, creeks full of small and large fish; at the following places, deer, elk, places with beautiful birds, places with all kinds of roots Indians use as food. At each place was a person in a cave, dressed in deer and elkskin clothing decorated with eagle feathers and painted with yellow paint.

"I finally reached a place where people were dancing, but I was stopped before getting very close. I saw people whom I knew had died years before and my relatives. But no one would speak to me. I tried my best to talk to my dear mother but she would not even look at me.

"I learned the songs they sang and the way they performed. Then I was told by one of the persons that I must do likewise, that I must teach my people this before I would be allowed with them and my mother. 'We will send you back; you are wicked.' After talking to me a little, he turned me around to the right.

"I woke from death and since then have done as I was told. I will never forget that I have a place to go after my death where I can find my people. I did not see a white person nor any but Indians. Preachers of older days never saw any either. They believed, and I too believe, that white men do not go to the place we Indians go. I tell this to my people in my preaching; that there is another place to which a white man goes. He goes up all right, but must be to another part."

Mrs. Teio gave the following account, when asked if she knew of Smohallah:

"My uncle, Dick Benson, died. He was a [reservation] policeman. He was wicked; he left his wife for another woman. They laid him out when he died. Some boys drummed and prayed for him. Smoke came out of his body. They told him he would have to return to earth because he had drunk, gambled, etc. 'You will have to go back and pray every day; then you can get through.' He lay dead all day, but he came back to life. He confessed and told his people not to gamble, nor drink, nor to steal lovers. 'You have to be of proper mind to go through when you die.' All his children heeded him for a while. He lived through the year until the next spring when he died. This was when I was a little girl [circa 1860-65].

"Smohallah lived near Toppenish later. [She spoke as though Benson was Smohallah, but later denied that Smohallah was a man]. He said: 'Early in the morning clean yourselves and your houses, and then cook.' Our religion [Shaker] tells the same thing.

"Some people of the Smohallah religion live at Nixlu'idix [Spedis] now. They drum and pray on Saturday evening and Sunday morning; praying to prepare for the return of the dead. [Not clear; she seemed to mean that the dead might return in the manner of Benson and tell how to lead the good life "to go through" on the Judgment Day]. There is a long house there which they use as a church. Everyone belonged to this religion when I was a girl. They always used bells and drums at their meetings.

"Smohallah dreamed. Some other started the religion when some one died

like my uncle [not clear]." On the other hand she insisted later that Smohallah was not a man's name, but the name of the cult.

She had never heard of Wowoka and his Ghost dance doctrine, nor of that of the Ghost dance of 1870, although she had seen the Northern Paiute who were brought to the Yakima Reservation about 1875. She knew nothing of the doctrine of the restoration of the old life and the extinction of the whites.

THE INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There were certain omens connected with birth. They said that when a child was born it might rain, or blow, or be very hot; the weather was unusual, and it was because of the birth that it was a bad day (Mrs. Teio). McGuff's manner of stating this suggests either that the state of weather depended on whether the birth was easy or hard, or that good weather was a favorable sign, a storm or an extreme temperature the reverse. A rainbow was similarly a sign of a birth, the child being born at the point where the arc begins. A double rainbow signified that two were born at the same time, or that someone had given birth to twins. This belief was shared by the Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas.

The cradle-board was not made before the birth; in fact, they waited perhaps five days. It was then made by some old person; an old woman for a girl, an old man for a boy. These were people possessed of some shamanistic power; at least they had as guardian spirits the dog or coyote. Such guardian spirits could understand the language of babies. They maintain that a dog, a coyote, and an infant can understand each other, but the baby loses his language when he grows old enough to speak and understand the tongue of his parents.

A cradle was used until the child was weaned, that is, for one or even two years. The child was accustomed to sleep in it, and spent most of its time on the board, hence it was not abandoned early. When one child had outgrown its use, it was kept for another of the family. But if the baby died they would dispose of it in some distant place. Babies were not buried with the cradle but placed in the charnel house on an island in the river.

The cradle was a wooden board, rectangular but tapering markedly to the lower end. The corners of the upper end were so deeply notched or cut away as to leave a trapezoidal handle protruding from the middle of this end. The cradle-board was of cedar or fir. A hoop of rosewood, as thick as one's thumb, rose high over the child's face. Each end of this was firmly bound to a side of the board. One or two cords to the handle, two others to the base, kept it upright. A square board was sometimes set upright above the child's head, fastened transversely to the board. A pair of holes was drilled at each side, above the place where the head rested, to take the ends of a packstrap. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) was fastened along each of the longitudinal sides of the board so as to cushion them. A series of holes down each of these sides bore a series of loops through which went the thongs by which the baby was lashed in. A soft pad was fastened to holes drilled for the purpose, to provide a pillow for the head; the feet rested on a similar pad. A soft bed was provided on the board, the baby covered by a decorated buckskin, and lashed fast (Fig. 8).

Frontal flattening was accomplished by placing a cloth on the forehead, then a soft pad as big as the hand; then a broad band bound the whole to the board (probably to holes in it). McGuff stated that a strip of buckskin about four

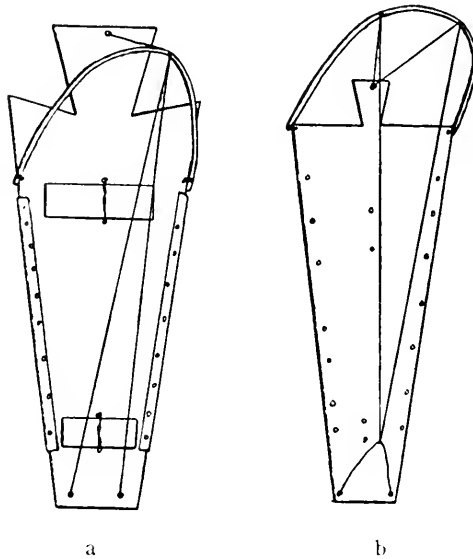


FIG. 8. Cradles (a, from native sketch; b, from specimen seen in the field and said to resemble a Wishram cradle).

inches wide was folded into a square, four by four inches. This was placed on the forehead of the securely laced baby, then another piece of buckskin was strapped over the head. As the child grew, the flattening device was tightened. Only certain persons could be entrusted with this task; not every mother could undertake it, for she might lace it so tightly as to kill the child. The flattener was not put in place until the baby was two or three weeks old, and was continued in use for eight or ten months.

Lewis and Clark observed that both sexes had flattened heads. "They also flatten the heads of the children in nearly the same manner [as the Sahaptins and Flathead], but we now [on the down-river journey] begin to observe that the heads of the males, as well as of the other sex, are subjected to this operation, whereas among the mountains the custom has confined it almost to the females."¹⁶²

Frontal flattening was orthodox and preferable to a normal head. Everyone had it: "they did not like to see round heads." "If its head should not have a flattened forehead, it would be laughed at."¹⁶³ Slaves lacked flattened heads, by which may have been implied either that it was forbidden to slave children, or what is more probable, that adult slaves, largely derived from southwestern Oregon and northeastern California, did not have deformed heads. (A flattened forehead was called *ilxapa'ka*, a natural one *ilmigakstu'k*).

CHILDHOOD

The impression derived from the attitude of parents as exemplified on occasions for rejoicing is that family sentiment was strong among the Wishram.

¹⁶² Hosmer, II, 47.

¹⁶³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 177. Sapir understood that the flattener was a piece of hard wood or skin made to fit the child's forehead. The use of wood is doubtful.

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There were not only proud celebrations over the child's little successes, over turning points in later life, but there was considerable serious instruction of the child, more or less formal, on how to conduct himself for a full life. Since much of subsequent success was laid to the acquisition of power from a proper guardian spirit, the boy or girl was rigidly instructed and guided in obtaining it. This has been discussed above. We indicate here a few other items.

The old people told boys who wanted to be strong to run up the neighboring high hills without pausing to rest. This would train them to follow the hunt without tiring. Girls were set the same task so that they would be active and strong.

A long while ago, when I was a boy, the old men would tell myths in winter. Now there I was listening to them. I would be told: "If you fall asleep before it is finished, straightway you will have to go and bathe. If you do not fall asleep, you will not go and bathe." Now I was fond of myths when I was a boy, so I would be satisfied with the things that I was told and would listen to them. If I fell asleep too early, (when) it was all finished, they would wake me up. An old man would say to me: "Go in bathing!" I would try to refuse, but in vain, so I just had to go. I was undressed entirely naked where he knew there was lots of ice or also where it was pressed together tight.

He would give me an ax for chopping up the ice. He would say to me: "You will chop right through it, you will dive under water, you will stick your head out, you will turn around, you will look to the rising sun, you will cry out 'wā!', you will shout. You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, you will look across this way (i.e., north), straightway you will again shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, again you will shout as before, you will look across yonder (i.e., south). You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, you will look to the setting sun, you will shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water for the fifth time, you will stick your head out, you will look up to the sky. Then enough; you will return home."

Now when I came home, a fire was already burning. On the ends of my head-hair icicles were dangling. I would be told: "Don't be looking at the fire; turn away from it, present your buttocks to the fire. It will quickly blow at you and make you grow quickly." That is how I was done in order not to be sick and in order to be strong, or just so, in order to prepare one for a guardian spirit. And indeed ever since I was a child I have never been sick; I have always been strong. But not at all have I seen anything that they call a guardian spirit, I do not know what it is like. Sometimes, although there is no ice in the river, it is present in a canoe or a boat; in that same water I would bathe myself. In winter the water of a boat or canoe always freezes, which is just a little bit cool.¹⁶⁴

We have recorded an incomplete statement that the (horned?) owl (ikau'hau) "scares children." It is probable that what was implied was the common custom of elders among the western Indians to threaten to invoke the owl to discipline unruly children.

A mask was used to frighten children. This was of cedar; an ugly face, with big eyes and ears, which represented Atlat'la'lia, one of the cannibal women. She figures in the mythology as a stupid, child-stealing and -devouring woman, of immense size, having a striped body like that of her own children; she has a fondness for human flesh and feeds her children snakes, frogs, toads, and the like. "No one today can give an exact description, nor did anyone ever see her." Owl is her husband, which perhaps explains his function as a bugaboo. This cannibal-woman concept has a wide distribution through the northwest. The Wasco conception of her was identical with that of the Wishram.¹⁶⁵ This is the only use of a mask known to the Wishram.

¹⁶⁴ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 189, 191.

¹⁶⁵ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 35-39, 165-173, 274-286.

NAMES

Without doubt the greatest event in a Wishram's life, and certainly the most impressive ceremonial of the ordinary individual, was the bestowal of his name. A child was first named when he was from six or eight months to two years old; he might receive a substitute when adolescent, and perhaps again as an adult, during a shamanistic dance. Occasion arose to change the name again on the death of a relative, when there was less ceremony or perhaps none at all.

There was a marked objection to telling names, one's own or another's. Names did not have meaning and were different for each sex. The observances with respect to names were strictly adhered to.

A name was always that of a dead elderly relative; there was no exception to this. No two people within the tribe bore the same name, although it might occur among another Upper Chinookan people. When a man died his name was not uttered again for five years. Some close relative was then given it, a son or grandson, e.g. For instance, Ta'xcani died; after five years his son would call all the people of the neighborhood to a big feast, giving away many presents, and paying an important man well for then calling him by his father's name. The Klickitat observe the same custom, "using the name again after five days or five years" (*sic*).

It is easy to understand then why names have no meanings. If names have been handed down from generation to generation, there must have been only a limited number in use and in that sense great stability. But if archaic forms were preserved and in addition suffered phonetic attrition, it is possible that they should become in time meaningless, provided they ever had any meaning. The only counter tendency would be that of reading meanings into them, which is certainly not the habit today.

Children were not named in earliest infancy; parents waited until they showed they would survive. This was variously put at six or eight months, a year, two years. Wishram and Klickitat both followed the same custom. The idea was that a child named when still very small might die, when the name would have to remain unused for another five years. They would rather wait and be certain before giving it a name.

The name might be changed at any time in later life when a relative died. This was done out of deference to the feelings of the parent of the one whose name was changed; he might feel sad to hear his child called by the name the dead person had used for him. McGuff specified that the change was made when a parent or brother or sister died. (It is significant that the change was not made on the death of one's own child, implying that children never called their parents by name.) Sometimes all the names of a family were changed in this fashion. Members of the family did not like to use a name which had been used by the deceased. That would be looked on as mocking the dead.

The naming ceremony was quite impressive. A feast was prepared, and relatives and friends even of other tribes were invited. Very valuable gifts were made to the spectators, so that the person would be widely known by this name.

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The one who was to be named was dressed in a costly costume and stood between two others in the midst of the gathering. The one on his left began in a low voice: "This is now so and so." The one on his right repeated this in a loud voice, the people answering loudly: "āxī." The name given was that of some relative who died long before; probably some of the younger people had never known or even heard of this person. Then again the one on the left said in a low tone: "This name used to be so-and-so who died long ago." The one on the right repeated these words in a loud voice and again the spectators answered: "āxī." Now the one on the left said in a low tone: "We want the mountains, the rivers, the creeks, the bluffs, the timber to know that this man or woman is now named so and so." He on the right repeated this in a very loud voice, the spectators responding: "āxī." The left said again: "We want to let the fishes, the birds, the winds, snow and rain, the sun, moon, and stars know that so and so has become as though alive again. His name will be heard again when this man is called." The right repeated as usual, the people answering: "āxī." This was the last announcement. Anyone among those present who was ever acquainted with the former bearer of the name could now come forward and ask for whatever he wished. He said: "I am glad to meet so and so again after being so long lost [dead]. I am glad this name has come to be spoken again; so I want so and so to give me this and that." It was invariably given him.

The sentiment behind the rebestowal of the name was avowedly that the dead becomes alive again.

The following description of the naming ceremonial is blended of two other accounts. It does not differ except in details. When a child was to be named, his parents invited guests and prepared for them. An old man would rise and address the gathering. He repeatedly lifted a nicely tanned elkskin and pronounced the name. "You used to call him by that name when you met him on the road. Today he is going to leave that name. Today he [the child] will be called by his grandfather's name, so and so. You will know it when you meet him, and you will call him by that name." He would then cut the skin into pieces sizeable for moccasins and give one to each man. Another man rose: "All you who are gathered here in this house! A long time ago there was so and so: he is going to be with us again. We will give this name to the child." They gave him a blanket. A second man: "My nephew (or whatever), so and so, bring me a saddled horse." So they bring it to him. Another rose: "He was [is?] going to give me a horse, that name [man?]. The parents would say: "Yes, we give you that horse; he is going to be with us again." A woman might rise to say: "So and so, bring me a blanket," and they would give it to her. They gave away many valuables to their friends and relatives on behalf of the boy or girl.

A "high-sounding," apparently titular prefix, Sapa— or Sipa— meaning big, great, sir, was sometimes used with the names of mythological characters. It may have had current use.¹⁶⁰

The importance attached to names, which were almost titles, and the desire

¹⁶⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 134, 66.

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to have them widely known is distinctly reminiscent of the Northwest Coast proper.

The following list of names was obtained. Data on the age of the person and the earlier relative who bore the name were obtained for some.

MALES

klõtõ'mc, young.
 tcõ'palai, young, his maternal grand-uncle's name.
 tõ'mxõt, young.
 täniwa'cě, middle aged; named for his father, a shaman who was killed.
 ka'ła'mek, old.
 spidi's, old.¹⁶⁷
 ta'xcani, old.
 pa'pkES, young (?); said to be that of a former Wishram chief.
 me'nait, old; the common name of the same man in later life.¹⁶⁸
 ba'laxwóc
 ck li'lpam
 dagi'ucac
 k li'e'lx (or k li'yelx)
 kxala'mak
 Lxoa'likEN
 łała'qxam
 saxa'll
 sila'tsi
 sne'niwa
 tamsa'wit
 ta'mxat
 txa'uaxca
 wacta'tci
 wai'sata
 wa'lauis
 xa'tc!Emtc!Em
 xE'milk
 xi'muc
 yayau'wen

FEMALES

tanitcěspam, little girl; named for her maternal grandmother, an Upper Chinook from below Hood River.
 k!wũ'naiät, young.
 tauwai'ipäm, young; said to sound like a Klickitat name; her grandmother was one.
 alika'ł, middle aged.
 dümiau'õx, old.
 k!esu'sni, old.
 texau'wac, old.
 xai'ädwisa, old.
 ba'c^acp^a
 cagi'łwõt
 cli'cli
 gacnõ'gwõx
 kesa'mis
 kiai'tõni
 k!u'ltcaiEt
 ni'sapan
 qxisamis
 säbiau'xs (or sa'biax)
 sa'iamelut
 sa'uyapam
 si'lamgas
 tsa'txo
 tsõ'sigans
 tu'malec
 wagu'miäc
 wai'yapic
 xınwat
 ya'utani

The following men's names are those of other tribes: *Wasco*, gu'tcta, wedite, wilu,¹⁶⁹ *Cascades*, sa'ianuxEN; *Klickitat*, xatama'l!ki.

¹⁶⁷ Spedis, Washington, the site of the Wishram village, is named for him.

¹⁶⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 224.

¹⁶⁹ Curtin, in Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 284.

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EAR PIERCING

A celebration of much the same order took place when a child was to have its ear lobes pierced to carry ornaments. This was done for children of both sexes, when only a few years old. No piercing was done in later life. (It is interesting as an example of conservatism to note that little girls' ears are still pierced, but the practise has been given up for boys, except among the "wild" Indians on the Yakima Reservation.)

People gathered in the house at the invitation of the child's paternal grandfather, e.g.¹⁷⁰ He said: "Do you all now come! Now my son has a child, a little baby, and the ears of my son's child will have holes pierced into them." A little food was prepared of which all ate. The piercing was done by an old man or woman, a relative or friend who was adept at it. A tanned elkskin was spread out on which the child was placed. Then the lobes and peripheries were pierced two, three, or four times, for the number gave prestige. Sapir's informant said five to each ear (five is the Wishram pattern number). Our informant did not know what was anciently used for piercing. A loop of deer-sinew was inserted to keep the hole open; it was frequently anointed with deer tallow to keep it soft. The elkskin was then cut into pieces large enough for a pair of moccasins, which were distributed as gifts, as in the naming ceremonial. Various other gifts were made to old people at this time: small baskets, horsehair rope, twined bags, were specified. Those who pierced the ears, and those who held them, received a larger share. They sang and danced on this occasion; danced individually, or in twos or threes, men and women together. "Now the boy or the girl has become good If it did not have its ears pierced, it would be laughed at." An elderly woman informant had three holes in each ear, two in the lobe and one somewhat higher.

FEASTS OF REJOICING

The giving of a first name and the piercing of ears in childhood were only the first of a series of rejoicings over turning points in the child's career. The next landmarks that followed were the first products of the child's labors, and for girls, maturity. In fact, the same pattern of behavior continued throughout life. We have seen how adults were newly named on the death of a relative. The same sort of rejoicing and public recognition took place, for example, when a man recovered from a serious illness. Its form was always the same, a feast and valuables given to the assembled guests. Perhaps the most striking thing about these celebrations is the love and concern over the child's successes which the parents displayed.

When a little girl was big enough to pick enough huckleberries to make a *iuna'yexix* (a huckleberry-load; a package of dried huckleberries of standard measure), the old women were called, and it was given to them. This gave her good luck in picking berries and made her a rapid picker.

¹⁷⁰ This account is a combination of other notes with that given by Sapir (*Wishram Texts*, 177).

My mother did this for me [Mrs. Teio] whenever I did something. When I was seven or eight years old, I picked berries, which she dried. She called the old people and gave them a feast. She did the same when I was nine; I picked more then.

Last year a little girl about four years old dug a quart of wild onions. They cooked them. They had a feast and gave away blankets and cloth. I got a skirt. Perhaps this year she will dig something, a little more.

When a boy catches his first salmon, and again when he kills his first deer or bear, they had a similar celebration. All the older people of the village were invited by the boy's parents. The fish was roasted on sticks, and on this the old men feasted. Other edibles were furnished by the parents. After the feast the old people, especially the men, were the recipients of gifts; blankets, shawls, etc. This gave the youngster success in catching more.

The girls' puberty celebration was essentially of the same kind. At first menstruation the girl was secluded in a little house apart for five days. A dance was given by her parents during the five nights. At the expiration of the time she was brought among them decorated with bead necklaces, which, with other gifts, were distributed among the guests. The celebration was held because her parents rejoiced that she was now a woman and ready to accept offers of marriage. Possibly she could wear bead necklaces only from this time forward as an indication that she was now mature.

Women were not secluded nor was their daily life interrupted in any way at their courses, save on this first occasion.

Sometimes a man would prepare a salmon feast after the fashion of the first salmon rite in order to make the old people happy. Everyone would come to his feast.

KINSHIP TERMS

Lists of terms were obtained independently by us.¹⁷¹ In the combined list that follows the form given is in the third person, except in the case of parents where alone the first and second forms differ from the third. The vocative forms are given parenthetically. Bracketed forms are alternatives.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| ilxt!a'max (masc.), alxt!a'max | | "all progenitors from the fourth generation back, i.e., beginning with one's great-grandparents." ¹⁷² |
| ĩtc!ũ'mõx ¹⁷³ | | any great-grandparent (probably a first person form). |
| itca-k!a'cuc | (k!a'cuc) | her paternal grandfather. |
| ia-ga'k!uc, ia-ti'lec ¹⁷⁴ | (ga'k!uc, ti'lec, ¹⁷⁴ | ti'la ¹⁷⁴ his maternal grandfather |
| aya-k!i'c | (k!ic) | his paternal grandmother. |
| aya-cki'x | (ckix) | his maternal grandmother. |
| wi'-am | | his father (wi'n-amc, first person; wi'm-am, second person). |

¹⁷¹ Some of these terms have been published by Sapir, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, 329.

¹⁷² Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 169.

¹⁷³ Forms obtained by Spier alone.

¹⁷⁴ Sahaptin in origin.

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| wa'y-aq | (a'qxo) | his mother (wa'n-aqc, first person; wa'm-aq, second person). |
| i'a-mut | (a'mut) | his paternal uncle, step-father. |
| iaŕe'm | (aŕ'em) | his maternal uncle. |
| aya'ŕak | (a'ŕak) | his paternal aunt, father's brother's wife (?). ¹⁷³ |
| aya-gu'tx | (agu'tx, aqxô'da) | his maternal aunt, step-mother, mother's brother's wife (?). ¹⁷³ |
| ia'-lxt | (a'pu, ga'pu) | his elder brother. |
| waya'-lxt | (alxt) | his elder sister. |
| iô'u-xix | (a'wi) | his younger brother. |
| aya'u-txix | (a'tci) | his younger sister. |

All cousins (both parallel and cross) as well as step-brothers and -sisters are called by these four terms.

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| ia'-xan | (a'gwa) | his son. |
| aya'-xan | (a'ca) | his daughter. |
| ia'-qxoq, id-ia'-qxoq | | his children. |
| ia'-wElx | } (qxē'wElx) | his brother's son. |
| aya'-wElx | | his brother's daughter. |
| itca'-wElx | | her sister's son. |
| aga'-wElx | | her sister's daughter. |
| ia-ŕa'txan | } (qxēŕa'txEn) | his sister's son. |
| aya-ŕa'txan | | his sister's daughter. |
| itca'-tkiu | | her brother's son. |
| aga'-tkiu | | her brother's daughter. |

These nepotic terms are also applied to the children of parallel- and cross-cousins.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| ia'-qcEn | } (ga'cu) | his son's son. |
| aya'-qcEn | | his son's daughter. |
| ia-ga'kan, ia-ti'la ¹⁷⁴ | } (ga'gu, ti'la) ¹⁷⁴ | his daughter's son, his sister's daughter's son. ¹⁷³ |
| aya-ga'kan, aya-ti'la ¹⁷⁴ | | his daughter's daughter. |
| itca'-gian | } (ga'ya) | her son's son. |
| aga'-gian | | her son's daughter, her brother's son's daughter. ¹⁷³ |

| | | | |
|------------|---|---------|---|
| itca'-tkEn | } | (da'ga) | her daughter's son, her sister's daughter's son. ¹⁷³ |
| aga'-tkEn | | | her daughter's daughter. |

These terms presumably apply to the remaining grandchildren of siblings as well and probably to those of parallel- and cross-cousins.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------|---|
| itca'-gikal | } | (qxigi'kal) | her husband. |
| aya'-gikal | | | his wife. |
| ia'-qci'x | } | (iqi'x) | his father-in-law, his son-in-law. |
| itca'-qcix | | | her son-in-law. |
| aya'-gcix | | | his mother-in-law. |
| itca'-cti | } | (icti', icti'u) | her father-in-law. |
| aga'-cti | | | her mother-in-law, her daughter-in-law. |
| aya'-cti | | | his daughter-in-law. |
| itckwo'kcĭn ¹⁷³ | | | son- or daughter-in-law's father. |
| akkwo'kcĭn ¹⁷³ | | | son- or daughter-in-law's mother. |
| itc-qix | | (iqi'x) | his brother-in-law. ¹⁷⁵ |
| aga'-tum | | (qxi'tum) | her sister-in-law. ¹⁷⁵ |
| itca-pu'tcxan | } | (qxipu'tcxan) | her brother-in-law. ¹⁷⁵ |
| aya-pu'tcxan | | | his sister-in-law. ¹⁷⁵ |
| itcanũ'mdatx ¹⁷³ | | | granddaughter's or great-granddaughter's husband. |
| agãnũ'mdatx ¹⁷³ | | | grandson's or great-grandson's wife, daughter's daughter's daughter's son's wife. |
| ia-cu'x (plural it-cu'xtikc | | | his relative. |
| it-qxô'qcn-ana, it-qxô'qma-na | | | relatives by marriage (not thus related to the husband of a newly married girl but to his blood relatives). |
| i'-pĭqau | | | widower. |
| a'-pĭqau | | | widower. |
| itĭe'-luq !Emax | | | divorced man. |
| itga'-luq !Emax | | | divorced woman. |
| wi'-limx | | | remarried man. |
| wa'-limx | | | remarried woman. |

"It is customary in Wishram, when apostrophizing a relative, as in mourning, to use both the non-pronominal vocative and the first person singular possessive form of the noun (as if one were to say in English: 'Papa, my father!')."

¹⁷⁵ Each of these four terms applies to the two possible relationships, e.g., "his brother-in-law" means both "his sister's husband" and "his wife's brother."

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Thus, a'ca wagi'ḡan, "my daughter!" and gā'iya witcigi'yen, "grandson, my grandson!"¹⁷⁶

In all these terms the sex of the speaker makes no difference in the stem used, unless noted otherwise. There is, of course, the inevitable sex-prefix of Chinook words. Thus, there are no separate terms for the brother, e.g., of a man and of a woman.

While it is not obvious, the grandparental and grandchild terms are verbally reciprocal as well as conceptually so.

The system as a whole is relatively simple. Parallel and cross-cousins are equated to the siblings and their descendants termed like those of siblings. Avuncular relatives on the two sides of the family are kept separate and differentiated by sex as well. The nepotic relationships are not correlated with these. Among them there is one term for the child of a sibling of like sex with the speaker, separate terms for the child of a sibling of unlike sex. At greater remove from the speaker, there are four classes of grandparent, conceptually and verbally reciprocal with four kinds of grandchildren. In this classification the primary distinction is based on the sex of the connecting relative. One impressive feature of the whole system is that the sex of the speaker does not figure.¹⁷⁷

From the fact that there is a coincidence of terms for paternal uncle and step-father, maternal aunt and step-mother, step-child and a man's brother's or a woman's sister's child, Sapir has argued for the influence of the levirate in establishing these terms.¹⁷⁸ But if, as Spier's additional data given here indicate, the step-mother is also equated with mother's brother's wife (not *father's* brother's wife), the force of this is considerably lessened. The paternal aunt is also probably equated to father's brother's wife. As the data stand then the spouses of the uncles are equated to their respective sisters. It may be maintained that this is conceptually, hence historically, distinct from the equation of step-parents with the avuncular relatives, but we cannot say which is the primary usage.

The following brief list of Wasco kinship terms was obtained:¹⁷⁹

| | |
|----------|--------------------------------|
| k!a'kos | paternal grandfather. |
| wi'namc | father. |
| wa'naks | mother. |
| etctsumt | father's brother. |
| etclum | mother's brother. |
| axlak | father's sister. |
| īcu'ŋ | elder brother, cousin. |
| īco'xix | younger brother, cousin. |
| waguŋ | elder sister. |
| gu'dxix | younger sister. |
| yoxhan | son. |
| eiyoخان | daughter (axhan, my daughter). |

¹⁷⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 158, 94.

¹⁷⁷ For the relation of this to other systems, see Spier, *The Distribution of Kinship Systems*, 76.

¹⁷⁸ Sapir, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, 328.

¹⁷⁹ By Dr. Erna Gunther from Frank Gunyer.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| etckeo | [her?] brother's son. |
| aktkeo | [her?] brother's daughter. |
| icqikal | my husband. |
| axqwikal | my wife. |
| coł | brother-in-law. |
| axtu'm | my sister-in-law. |
| axllkaw ^u | my [?] widow. |

All of these terms are recognizable in the *Wishram* list except *icu't*, elder brother and cousin, and *coł*, brother-in-law.

A term, *icta'ta*, for "my maternal uncle," recorded by Boas among the Chinook proper,¹⁸⁰ was employed among the Wasco by little children to mean "my brother."

GAMES

Shinny was played only in the spring. A pole was set up at each end of the playing field as a goal. The ball was laid in a hole at the center of the field, whence two opposing players struck it out. The side which gets the ball past the other's post wins. This game was played by men only, perhaps five on a side. The ball could not be touched with the hands. The shinny stick was crooked; the ball was made of oak (?) root. Stakes might be anything.

Double-ball shinny was, as usual, a woman's game. The goals were as for shinny, but the "ball" was not set in a hole. This ball was made by joining two billets of heavy hard wood by a strong buckskin thong, a foot long. Each billet was about nine inches long, an inch or more in diameter, provided at the middle with a groove in which the thong was tied. The striking sticks were straight, four feet long, slightly pointed. The "ball" was thrown toward the opponent's goal with the point of the stick; it could not be touched with the hands.

Hoop and pole was played by men and boys only; any number played. The hoop was a ring of willow or other wood, eighteen inches in diameter; the stick somewhat thicker than the thumb. It was not netted. The pole was unusually small, only four feet long and hardly thicker than the hoop. It was not marked nor decorated in any way. Any smooth spot was used as a playing ground. The stereotyped method of throwing the hoop was to hold it vertically in front of the shoulder and to throw it down to roll along the ground. The poles were then hurled after it. The winning throw was one in which the pole pierced the hoop, so that they fell lying together in this fashion.

The only bow and arrow game recorded was that of shooting at marks made of bundles of weeds about eight inches long.

Foot-races were indulged in by men, boys, and girls. They raced both to a distant point, or to it and returned.

Any contest designed to test physical power or endurance was called 'waqi'lukck. The one who stood the most pain won the game.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Boas, *Vocabulary of the Chinook Language*, 135.

¹⁸¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 84.

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Anyone might toy with the ring and pin game, children too, solely for amusement. The device consisted of a bundle of cattail-down, bound into a cylinder as long as the finger and about an inch in diameter. A short cord fastened to one end attached it to the bone (?) pin on which it was caught. We could not learn with certainty whether the bundle was swung toward or from the body, probably the latter.¹⁸²

The dice game was feminine; men never played it. It may have been played only in winter and spring. The (deer?) bone dice were four in number; seven inches long, a half inch wide, flat on one side, slightly convex on other, somewhat pointed at the ends. These were marked in pairs on their convex faces; two called "men" (ika'lūxc) had a line of crosses along the face, those called "women" (inū'mkckc) were marked with two longitudinal lines of dots, crossing which were transverse lines. Not all women owned nicely marked dice. These were thrown from the hands. If two of a kind fell face up, "men" or "women," the thrower won a point; with any other throw the dice passed to an opponent. It is probable that sticks were used to mark the points won, but the informant did not know how many there were, nor their use.

The hand game¹⁸³ was formerly played by men alone; now men and women. Any number of individuals could play. Seated on the ground, each of the parties had a plank laid before them on which to beat with short sticks (eighteen inches long) while they sang. Four gambling bones were used. These were made of the shin bone of a deer, as long as a finger and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Two of these, called "men," were marked with a piece of buckskin tied around a groove at the middle; the two called "women" were unmarked. Sticks serving as markers were stuck into the ground between the parties; our informant did not know how many.

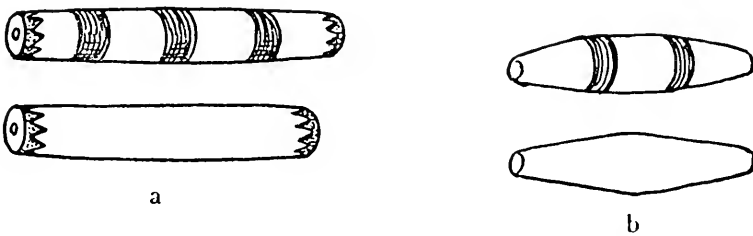


FIG. 9. Gambling bones for the hand game; a, set used by men; b, set used by women (redrawn from a native sketch).

The leader of each side sat in the middle of his row. He rolled all four bones in his hands, then passed one "man" and one "woman" to one man on each side of him, always an assorted pair. These hid them one in each hand, swinging their hands to and fro across in front of their bodies. The object of their opponents was to guess in which hand the "men" were hidden. (McGuff

¹⁸² Mrs. Teio did not know whether juggling was in vogue.

¹⁸³ Ordway of the Lewis and Clark party observed the game in 1806 (Quaife, *Journals*, 344).

states the unmarked pair were guessed for.) The leader of the opponents sat still, watching. He announces his guess by hand movements. If he chose both outside hands (that is, the right hand of the man on his left and the left hand of the man on his right) he moved his hand across in front of him with thumb and forefinger extended. If he chose one inside and one outside hand, he drew his hand across with only the forefinger extended. If he chose both inside hands, he moved his open hand edgewise downward as though between them. To show how they were hidden, the hider then held high his hands palms forward.

If he correctly guessed the way in which one of the hiders held them, his side took that pair of bones. Then he guessed again for the other pair. If he missed on the second guess, his pair returned to their former owners. We do not know how the markers were used, but suggest that one was drawn from the pile by the hiders when their opponents guessed incorrectly.

Riddles were unknown.

Children slid down some slippery rocks at Nixlu'idiḡ, the village at Spedis. One, known as watst'a'loxlux, to slide, was a long slippery rock resting obliquely against another. They sometimes quarreled over this sport.

SWEATING

The sweatlodge was the small hemispherical affair containing heated stones common on the western plateaus. The ordinary lodge was three to four feet in diameter, three and a half feet high. Others large enough to admit five or six people were broader, but no higher. The frame was made of willow poles stuck into the ground about a foot apart in a circle. No specified number was used, as among the Blackfoot. These poles were then bent down and tied together at the top; there were no horizontal ribs. The frame was covered, probably with mats, over which dirt was heaped; nowadays blankets are used. A doorway was left, which was closed with a blanket. They carpeted the floor with sweet smelling fir boughs.

Stones were heated on a crib of sticks outside and carried in to a hole, some eighteen inches across, just inside the entrance, either to the right or left. Water was sprinkled on the hot stones to create steam.

It was customary to go into the lodge to sweat five times, by which time the stones had grown cold. There was no esoteric significance attached to the number; it was merely customary. They were enjoined to keep their eyes closed, else they would become red around the rims. "Those who did not have strong minds would get scared and run out." On coming out of the lodge it was customary to sit about to cool off before plunging into a nearby stream.

Formerly men and women made use of separate sweatlodges, or more probably went in at different times; nowadays a man and his wife will go in together.

Sweating was for several purposes. Hunters always sweated in the morning before starting out, in order to rid themselves of their body odor. In spring when the trees on the mountains were freshly green and scented, they carried the leaves and green bark, especially of the fir, into the lodge so that they would

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acquire this fragrance. It was usual to sweat first to cleanse oneself, then bring in the fresh leaves for their pungent odor.

Sweating was also indulged in to acquire good luck; it was so used by fishermen, trappers, gamblers, and lovers. An old man would be hired to go into the lodge with the sweater; he took his position near the heated rocks. He was one who knew how to talk to the sweatlodge, asking it to help his employer and to give him luck in marrying the woman of his desire, e.g. In the same way a woman would hire some old woman to plead for her.

Mourners and those who touched a corpse had to purify themselves by sweat-bathing. The mourner began to sweat five days after the death, going into the lodge once a day for each of the five succeeding days. This was so that they would not contaminate the things they touched, giving bad luck to others.

A sickly person would also go into a sweatlodge in order to recover his strength. There was also a pothole (?) at the river near Lyle, said to have been made by Coyote. Heated stones were put into this and it was filled with water to provide a hot bath for sickly persons.

SMOKING

In earlier days only shamans and chiefs smoked; common men would have gotten "consumption" from its use. The shaman always inhaled five puffs before beginning to cure in order to strengthen his spirit and to make it more lively. One whose spirit was the rattlesnake would dry a snakeskin and mix it with his tobacco. The pipe was also used at interludes in council meetings, the chief who was host starting the pipe on its round, each chief present taking a puff or two.

We are not certain that any of the three plants used were tobaccos. A plant (ig!ai'nūf), having a leaf like that of the turnip (and hence perhaps a tobacco), was grown in spots where ash beds remained from burned logs. McGuff stated that this seed or plant was gotten from the Hudson Bay Company. Yet the practise of planting in ashes is aboriginal.¹⁸⁴ Prior to this, Indians from the east brought a smoking leaf which was bitter and strong. These Indians told that this plant was scarce and grew only on the cliff faces, whence they procured it by shooting it down with arrows. This sounds, of course, like a fiction to enhance its value. The third plant (iĥpätciu) was probably bearberry, the common kinikinnick of the northern latitudes. It was described as growing on the mountains; a very low plant bearing red berries, the leaves lanceolate, an inch long. The leaves were roasted before a fire until brown, when they were dried, crushed, and mixed with tobacco.

The potency of these early tobaccos was said to have been much greater than the commercial tobacco now in use. Four or five puffs made a pleasant amount. Sometimes a smoker would take too much, rendering him unconscious for as much as a half hour. Such heavy tobacco was ordinarily smoked only at bed time.

¹⁸⁴ Sapir, *Notes on the Takelma*, 259; Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, 37.

Tobacco was not chewed, as for example, with lime.

The pipe described was of the elbow type, fitted with a short wooden stem. The bowl was of a fine grained local stone, blue-green to black in color. The two arms of the L-shaped bowl were of about equal length, three inches, and of the same diameter, that is, about an inch and a half. A little nubbin protruded forward from the base of the bowl proper. The slender wooden stem was about five inches long. Such pipes were made by the Wishram themselves.¹⁸⁵ Further up the Columbia straight tubular pipes were in use, probably in the hands of the Sahaptin peoples at Celilo.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

When a man or woman died the body was kept for two or three days before being carried to one of the burial houses. The mourners brought various valuables for the deceased because he was liked. These were tied all over his body: sea-fish bone beads, sea-shell beads, round glass beads, and strings of Chinese cash. The body of a virgin was similarly decked in addition with cloth and bracelets. The corpse, having been painted and dressed, was wrapped in a tanned buckskin, placed on its back on a plank the width of the body, and lashed there. Two men then carried it to the family burial house; they were not necessarily relatives and were paid a horse apiece for their services. Many mourners followed. It was deposited with the row of corpses at the side of the last one set in place. Sometimes the man's horse was taken there to be killed. The gathering then dispersed, with further duties falling on members of the family and those who had handled the corpse alone.

Mourning was continued for five or ten days. "If a man should die, the people mourn. He is liked; his heart was good to everybody. Ten days and five days they mourn. Again, so also in case of a woman. Good was her heart and, when looked at, good her appearance."¹⁸⁶ Parents and other relatives cut their hair short to the ears.

Those who handled the corpse and close surviving relatives had to purify themselves by sweating. They began five days after the death, going into the sweat-lodge once on each of the five succeeding days. Men and women used separate lodges (or the men used it before the women) and during this time they also ate apart. The sweating was to cleanse the mourner so that he could handle things as others did, without causing bad luck. If a widow handled fresh fish or game, the fisherman or hunter would have bad luck the rest of the year, and should she eat fresh flesh, the game or fish were likely to disappear almost entirely. Should a widow fail to purify herself, the fish would run deep and the game be wild in the vicinity of the village, so that they would be difficult to take. Nor could a widower, or the father of a dead baby, go near the fishing stages until he had purified himself, else the fish run would cease.

Widow and widower had to keep up full mourning and remain unmarried for five years, during that time never dressing the hair, for example. This restriction applied as well to the survivor of an infant marriage even though it never reached the stage where the couple lived together.

¹⁸⁵ Klamath pipes of this general type are figured by Barrett, *Material Culture of the Klamath*, pl. 22, figs. 8, 9.

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The funeral of a chief was somewhat more elaborate. His body was dressed in his buckskin clothing and his spirit outfit added. Chiefs of other tribes came to view the body. After five days and nights the corpse was carried to the burial island. His personal servant (a woman, a man, boy, or girl) was also taken to the burial place. A few words were said to him, he was killed and buried with his master, and "nothing more was said about it." A few days after the burial, the property of the dead chief was distributed among his relatives and other chiefs as remembrances. Then a big feast was given by the tribe and his successor was recognized. When a chief's wife died, a girl or woman servant was also generally buried with her. This was true among the Clackamas as well (see below).

An account of a funeral of earlier days was obtained from Mrs. Teio, who is now a member of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers. Curiously enough it appears to be the rite of members of the Pom Pom religion (derived from the Smollahall cult and now flourishing among the Yakima), not the ancient Wishram form.

The body was taken to a long house, "a church," not used for secular dances. A row of men faced the body on one side, a row of women opposite. Perhaps three of the men had hand-drums of the tambourine type and one a little bell. They stood in place singing. Then the bell was rung a little and someone stepped forward (the widow or another relative), and prayed. They continued this through the night until sunrise, various men praying between intervals of drumming and singing. The body, decked out as described above, was then carried to the burial vault in the ancient manner.

The island of the dead, Memaloose Island in the Columbia, is locally quite famous. It derives its name from a Chinook jargon word for the dead. This island is several miles upstream from the former Wishram village Nixlu'idix at Spedis, Washington. This has been the Wishram burial ground throughout the historic period and the span covered by tradition. The burial vaults clustered somewhat thickly there and each was crowded with corpses. Each family owned one; sometimes it was used by several related families. If a woman had no place to put her dead, she might ask a man for a place in his vault, making him a present. These structures were built by a group of related men.

The burial house was a small rectangular structure of planks set over a shallow pit, measuring about ten feet to the side and six feet high, and with a shed-roof, that is, with but a single pitch. The wall planks were set vertically. A burial house was called *itk'li'mxötgämö'x*. "In them the bodies were laid with their heads to the west, sometimes piled up to a depth of three or four feet. Carved wooden images were frequently set up around the vaults, and the planks were often carved and painted to represent men or various animals."¹⁸⁷ We figure the carved side of a canoe found on this island (plate 13).

Bodies were not reburied.¹⁸⁸

Cremation was not practiced by the Wishram,¹⁸⁹ nor did our informant

¹⁸⁷ Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, 171.

¹⁸⁸ For many years the whites of the vicinity were in the habit of plundering the grave houses, until they were trampled down and the bones scattered. Some years ago the Wishram built a single stone vault there, in which they collected all the bones they could then find.

¹⁸⁹ Mr. W. Egbert Schenck informs us that investigations in archaeological sites at The Dalles and on Miller's Island, opposite the mouth of the Deschutes River, show cremation formerly to have been the custom in this region.

know of any tribe in the vicinity that did. She knew it however as the custom of the Klamath and Northern Paiute in Southeastern Oregon.

An account of Clackamas burial was obtained. Their chiefs were buried in a manner similar to that of the Wishram but differing in details. The corpse of the chief was taken to his burial place in a small canoe, large enough to admit of only two paddlers. His slave-servant was taken in another similar canoe. Others followed in large canoes. When the body was laid in the hole the slave was called and addressed thus: "You have been very good to your master, waiting on him all the time. He thought of you as his own son, fed you the same food he ate, and you also thought warmly of him and treated him as a father. Now you see he is gone forever and never again will be seen. You have no one to attend at home, so you may go with him. Now get down in the hole and cover yourself with part of your master's clothes; be there beside him." He was then lowered into the grave and buried alive.

WISHRAM TALES¹⁹⁰SALMON MYTH¹⁹¹

Five wolves had a house. They stole Spring (Chinook) Salmon's wife. They all went hunting. Spring Salmon made the springs dry up, so the wolves thirsted. They went around and around. They said, "Hmmm, that is a salmon smell." They could not keep still; they were wild because they smelled salmon. The springs all dried up so that they all died except the youngest. That is why there are wolves now; the youngest was saved. Then Spring Salmon took his wife again.

They went down the river in a canoe. He told his wife he was going to sleep. "Do not wake me. You will be captain in this canoe. We will go straight down. If you see anything do not be afraid." He lay down where he sat and slept. As they went along she saw a worm crawl out of his head; salmon get wormy. So she pushed him away. "Haaa," he cried.

They reached a big rock a little below Lyle. He said, "Oh, wolves' wife, you hurt me." He made a hollow in the side of the rock with his paddle just big enough to sit in. Then he placed his wife on the blade of the paddle and put her up there. She had nothing to eat. This was punishment because she hurt him.

He paddled a long time until he came to his house. He had two big crows (or ravens). They used to fly about and on their return he would listen to what they said. Finally one said, "I am going to have the eyes." The other said, "I am going to have the cheeks; you can have the eyes." He heard them and said, "What do you see, that you talk that way? Do you see something?" The crows said, "Yes, we saw a woman. She is in a rocky place: no one can get there. She is very poor, a nice looking woman." It was his wife. So he said, "You fellows can go this morning and bring her on your backs. Do not kill her: bring her here." The crows said, "Yes, we will try." So they put their wings together and put something on this. Then they flew up, and because it did not fall off, he said, "I guess it is all right; you can go fetch her."

So they went. That woman could not move. She cried. She said, "I can not go; I might fall." But they said, "No, we will take you. Our brother sent us." So they sat down where she was and crossed their wings. They told her to sit on that and place one hand on the shoulder of each. So she sat there and they took her. "Kaw, kaw," they called as they took her. Anything Spring Salmon wished, he did; it was all right. So he took her for his wife again. She no longer starved. She was all right now; they lived together again.

¹⁹⁰ For a discussion, see Sapir, *Preliminary Report*, 542-4.

¹⁹¹ Told by Mrs. Mabel Teio.

THE CANNIBAL WOMAN¹⁹²

There was a girl and a little boy at Spedis. These two were very smart. They were looking for arrowheads, which they found. An ugly woman named Atlat!a'iyi came. She had a big basket in which she put them. She covered them and tied them in. Then she carried them to her house near Celilo. She had many children there, which she always roasted. The girl hurt the boy; he cried, "Sister, you hurt me." The woman said, "[That is a sign that] my children got burned." His sister whispered, "Say it again," and he did. The woman said, "Somebody hollered; my children got burned. I will have to leave this basket." When they reached there these two children were all right. The two cut a hole in the basket and got out. Then they stuffed the basket with grass and roots.

The two fled. The girl carried the boy some of the time. When they reached the river again, an old man told them, "I will take you over there." The woman found that they were gone when she opened the basket, so she followed them. They went across in the old man's canoe, but she swam after them.¹⁹³

She tried to catch them but she was drowned. The old man took them across the river. She floated down until she stood upright as a big rock. She has breasts and her basket on her back. That is why there are no more cannibal women about. All the children are shown that rock.

THE DESERTED BOY¹⁹⁴

There was a very mean boy at Spedis. He fought with the other children all the time. The boy's grandmother had an underground house. An old man said, "We are going to take him into the hills across the river and leave him." Those two old women said, "No!" They cried. He said, "Yes, he is too mean." At last he took the boy across the river. The two old women never stopped crying. The men went over there to cut sticks for the hoop of the hoop and pole game. They left him there. One young man said, "We will defecate." They made a face in the faeces with a stick and told it, "If you hear a cry, you call out." They put another far inside the clump of bushes where they cut the sticks. That mean boy said, "It is a long time now. I have lots of sticks." So he shouted, "Ho!" Somebody shouted, "Ho!" He called again and then went over there. Again he called and heard the reply. He went there, but there was no one. He saw the faeces with mouths. He said, "I guess they deserted me." So he took the sticks.

When he reached home nobody was there except the magpies. Everyone else was across the river playing the hoop and pole game. He went into the house and cried. He heard something going k'e, k'e, like a fire. He looked around until he found it; it was something to make string of. He said, "I am

¹⁹² Told by Mrs. Teio.

¹⁹³ The narration was interrupted at this point.

¹⁹⁴ Told by Mrs. Teio.

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going to make a trap to catch magpies." He made it and caught many of them. He dried the skins. He used the string to sew them together to make a blanket for sleeping. He measured it: "It is long enough for me to sleep."

Then he went fishing and caught a chub. He roasted it at the fire and ate one side. He kept the other for the morning. He said, "Oh, I am all right." So he slept under his magpie blanket. Next morning he put it on, tying it around his neck, and went fishing again. He got two fish. He cooked one and kept one for evening. "I am getting on all right." Next morning he fished again. Pretty soon he got something: it was heavy and nearly pulled him in. It was put there by a woman of the river people, the daughter of Itc!ě'kian, a river man. They had tied a big basket of salmon, camas, and berries to his line. He pulled it in. "Oh, I have something." He opened it. "Oh, my;" he danced. As he danced his blanket flapped straight out behind.

The people who had left him now saw him. "Something happened to that mean boy. He is dancing close to the river." He took the basket to his house. Soon he ate and slept again. He was glad.

That woman got ready at night. She was a young girl; she had long hair. She made a nice house: she put nice blankets in it. The boy had nothing but his magpie skins. She wished him to be a man now. She put him in her bed.

In the morning he looked all around. He saw the blankets. He saw himself: "My, I am big." He turned and saw the woman. He was afraid and astonished by her nice clothes. He said nothing. She knew what he thought. She said, "That food I sent you because you were poor and deserted. Now I have come to stay with you." He said, "All right."

That morning the people saw it and said, "Look, that mean boy now has a good house. Smoke is coming out of it." They thought about him.

Those two stayed there until they had a little boy and a girl. They grew quickly. He told his wife. "I guess we will go to see my grandmother. Perhaps she is still alive." She agreed. He made a bow and arrow for the little boy. She made a little basket and digging stick for the girl. The boy tried to shoot. Those people across the river saw it and talked about him. But they never came across, because they were ashamed. So the family crossed to see the man's grandmother. They travelled; the boy tried to shoot birds. "Oh, a different man is coming," the people said. He knew because his wife had given him power. His grandmother, blind and poor, was sitting in the underground house, crying continually. He went in and said, "Oh, you two are alive yet?" One said, "Eh." He told them who he was. They cried, "No, you are a man; that was a little boy." He said, "Yes, that is me," but they did not believe him. He made them believe. So they returned across the river with him.

That is all I know of this story.

STAR HUSBAND¹⁹⁵

Some young girls were sleeping out in the open in the summer. They saw the stars, one big one and a little one. The younger girl said, "I will have the smallest for a lover," and the elder, "I will have the larger." They slept. Toward morning something lay close to the younger; it was bright, like gold. This happened north of Spedis. She said, "Oh, something is lying by my side." The older sister said, "That is the star you were wishing for." So they jumped up and went home. Everybody came to see him shining there. Now it is gone; I guess someone threw it in the river. Sometimes it shines there.

¹⁹⁵ Told by Mrs. Teio. She did not know of the sky root digging incident. The Wishram have the spider rope incident, but Mrs. Teio did not know it.

WASCO TALES¹⁹⁶SKY ROPE¹⁹⁷

A little boy was taken to the sky, where he grew up. A woman forbade him to go to a certain place. There were a people who ate nothing but human eyes. These people wanted him to marry their daughters, of which there were five. His own people found him and cleaned his stomach of eyes, bones, etc.

He married the youngest daughter of the Sun. They liked him because he was a good hunter. He went to the forbidden spot [another?] where he found a hole. He looked down to the earth. He saw his brother, who had no eyes, crying for him. He felt sorry for his brother. He went back and lay down, for he did not know how to descend. His wife asked him what was wrong. He told her. She said she would get two old people, Spiders, to make a rope for him. They let him down. She said, "Tell your people to clean their house five times [or for five days] before you enter." He met his brother there, crying, and asked, "Why do you cry?" His brother said, "Because I lost my brother." This younger brother said, "I do not believe you are the lost one. I think you are the trickster Bluejay." But he found it was his brother. The older brother told him to instruct the people to clean house: then he would join them with his family. So the younger brother told them.

The sky family brought all sorts of things from the sky. Now the family had plenty to eat: before this they had been starving. The sky couple had twin boys who were fastened together. The Sun's daughter told her brother-in-law not to take the twins anywhere for fear something might happen to them. Bluejay thought, "Perhaps I can split them apart." He took his axe and cut them apart. But when they parted their entrails were dragged out. The woman was sewing when her thread broke: she knew that something had happened. Her brother-in-law told her. She found them split in two. She was so sad that she wanted to go home. She said, "Now I will take my sons back home. The only time you will see them is on those occasions when you see a bright light on each side of the sun when it is shining." This is a sign that some one is going to be very sick or die. (A star near the moon has the same significance.)¹⁹⁸

CHIPMUNK'S STRIPES

A cannibal woman grabbed at Chipmunk. Her fingers scratched the marks on his back.

ORIGIN OF DEATH

Eagle helped Coyote get his wife in this way. Eagle knew where the dead stay. They went down the Columbia River to find this place. Coyote saw a boat. He called very loud to the man, "Bring your boat here." Eagle knew that

¹⁹⁶ This group of tales was obtained from Frank Gunyer in this abbreviated form alone.

¹⁹⁷ This is a long tale, of which this is not the beginning.

¹⁹⁸ This belief is current among the Wishram, who phrase the first with reference to rainbows around the moon.

the man was a shade who took the drowned in his boat. The man would not come to shore. Eagle did not like the way Coyote called. He took him under his wing and jumped over to the boat. Then they were ferried across. They saw a smoke on this island. Eagle said, "Let us go to that house." They saw two old living people there. Eagle asked, "Why do you live here?" "Our children all died, so we live here. At night they come here." "Where are the dead?" "Way over there where a big frog looks after them. He lives in a big house. He swallows the moon. The souls lie there and only rise when it is pitch dark." They told them to kill the big frog. "People tell the frog when it is time to swallow the moon. She makes five leaps to reach the moon. She puts the moon in her stomach. Then the dead wake and have a good time."

Coyote saw this: he stayed in the corner of the house during the day. He heard his wife having a good time. He was jealous and wanted to jump out to catch the man with his wife. But Eagle held him. In the morning the frog spat the moon out; it was daylight.

The old folks said, "The only way is to kill the frog and use his body to act as he does. That is the only way to get the soul." "All right," Eagle said, "we will have to make a box." Eagle made the box. They killed the frog and skinned her. Coyote put on the skin. They told him to make five jumps. He practised.

At night he slept there in his disguise. Two men said, "Frog, make your jump." He jumped, but not quite far enough. Some of the dead suspected: they disputed among themselves whether it was Frog. Again he jumped, but not far enough. By the fifth jump most of them were sure it was not Frog. Coyote caught the moon and tried to swallow it, but it stuck out of his mouth a little. They thought it was Coyote. He put his hand over his mouth to cover the moon.

The dead came into the house until it was completely filled. Coyote heard his wife. Eagle called, "Let the moon go." He was at the door holding his box over the opening. Coyote spat the moon out. Then when it was light they all left the house but they were caught in the box.

These two told the old people that they had all the souls. They shouted to the man in the boat, but again he would not come ashore. Eagle took Coyote under his wing and jumped to the boat. They went across.

Eagle carried the box. They travelled up the river. When nearly home, Coyote heard the people talking in the box. He asked Eagle to let him carry it. He said, "You are a great man and yet you carry it; I am only common; let me take it." Eagle resisted, but finally gave it to him. Coyote was curious to look into the box. He told Eagle to go ahead of him. Eagle said he would wait, but Coyote insisted. Eagle suspected that Coyote would destroy the people in there. He went on. Coyote opened the box, slowly, but the powerful spirits came right out, and went back where they had been brought from. Coyote tried to close the box, but he could keep only one crippled man in it.

Eagle knew at once what the other had done. Coyote carried the box on and gave it to Eagle. Eagle said, "I do not want it now." He let the cripple go. He said, "If I had brought it here and opened it properly, people would live again in the spring just as the trees do."

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RACCOON

Raccoon and his grandmother had five potholes filled with acorns in the rocks near the Columbia. She gave him only one and a half acorns to eat. He stole the contents of all five holes, defecating in them instead. He hid under the ashes. She took a stick and struck him across the back and tail, making the marks that raccoons have today.

He made five big balls of berries with thorns sticking out all over. He fed them to his grandmother. He brought water to her, using her basket hat. But he first punched a hole in the bottom, so that she got very little. She began to sprout wings and finally flew off to perch as a rock that is there now. Raccoon, grieving, sat down and rubbed his buttocks along the rocks. These marks can still be seen.

FOOD SMELLERS

A people on the Columbia had no eyes or mouths. They ate by smelling the sturgeon. Coyote opened their eyes and mouths.

ABSTRACTS

WISHRAM TALES

Salmon Myth (p. 273)

Spring Salmon's wife is stolen by five wolves. He makes the springs dry so that they die of thirst. One is saved *hence there are wolves now*. He takes his wife in a canoe. She pushes him away when she sees a worm crawl from his head. In punishment he places her in a hole he makes high in a rock. His crows discover her and carry her back at his command.

The Cannibal Woman (p. 274)

A girl and boy are stolen by a cannibal woman, who carried them in her basket. The girl makes the boy cry out. The cannibal thinks that her own children are suffering and leaves the basket. The two escape, crossing the river in an old man's canoe. The cannibal pursues but is drowned. *She becomes a certain rock; that is why there are now no cannibal women.*

The Deserted Boy (p. 274)

People decide to desert a boy who is quarrelsome. His grandmother protests. They go across the river with him to search for sticks. They desert him leaving their faeces to call to him. When he arrives home, the people have left. He makes a blanket of magpie skins and catches fish. A river-woman pitying him ties a basket of food to his line. She prepares a house and food, and lies with him as he sleeps. They have two children. The people see his house and are ashamed. He seeks out his grandmother, with his family, and shares his good fortune.

Star Husband (p. 276)

Two girls wish for stars as lovers. In the morning something shining, a star, lies close to the younger. They go home. People come to look at it. It is thrown into the river; *that is why it sometimes shines there.*

WASCO TALES

Sky Rope (p. 277)

A boy, growing up in the sky, is forbidden to go where people eat human eyes. (He does but) his people clean these from his stomach. He marries the Sun's daughter. He finds a hole in a forbidden place and looks down on the earth. He sees his brother without eyes and pities him. Spiders make a rope on which he and his family descend with an abundance of food. The sky-couple have Siamese twins as children. Sun's daughter warns the brother to protect the

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twins. He splits them apart. Sun's daughter is sad and returns to the sky with the twins. *They are now the bright lights beside the sun which are an omen of death.*

Chipmunk's Stripes (p. 277)

A cannibal woman snatches at Chipmunk, *scratching the marks on his back.*

Origin of Death (p. 277)

Eagle and Coyote go down the river to bring back Coyote's dead wife. Coyote demands assistance of the ghost who ferries the drowned. Eagle carries him to the boat. They find an old couple living near their dead children. The dead are cared for by a frog who swallows the moon so that they come to life. Coyote is jealous of his wife's partner. They kill the frog. Coyote dresses in its skin and tries to swallow the moon. All the ghosts crowd into the house. Eagle catches them in a box. Again Coyote demands ferriage but Eagle carries him back. As they journey home Coyote obtains the box on the pretext that he, being common, should carry it. Coyote peeps into the box and all the dead escape to the land of shades except a cripple. Eagle lets the cripple return. Because of this act, *people do not revive in the spring.*

Raccoon (p. 279)

Raccoon's grandmother has plenty of acorns but gives him little. In revenge he eats them all, leaving his faeces in their place. She strikes him *making the marks raccoons now have.* He feeds berry balls to her, and gives her water in her hat in which he punches a hole. She sprouts wings and flies off. Raccoon, grieving, rubs his buttocks on the rocks *making marks now seen.*

Food Smellers (p. 279)

Coyote opens the eyes and mouths of a people who eat sturgeon by smelling it.

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PLATES



PLATE 1. Mortars and spoons (American Museum of Natural History).

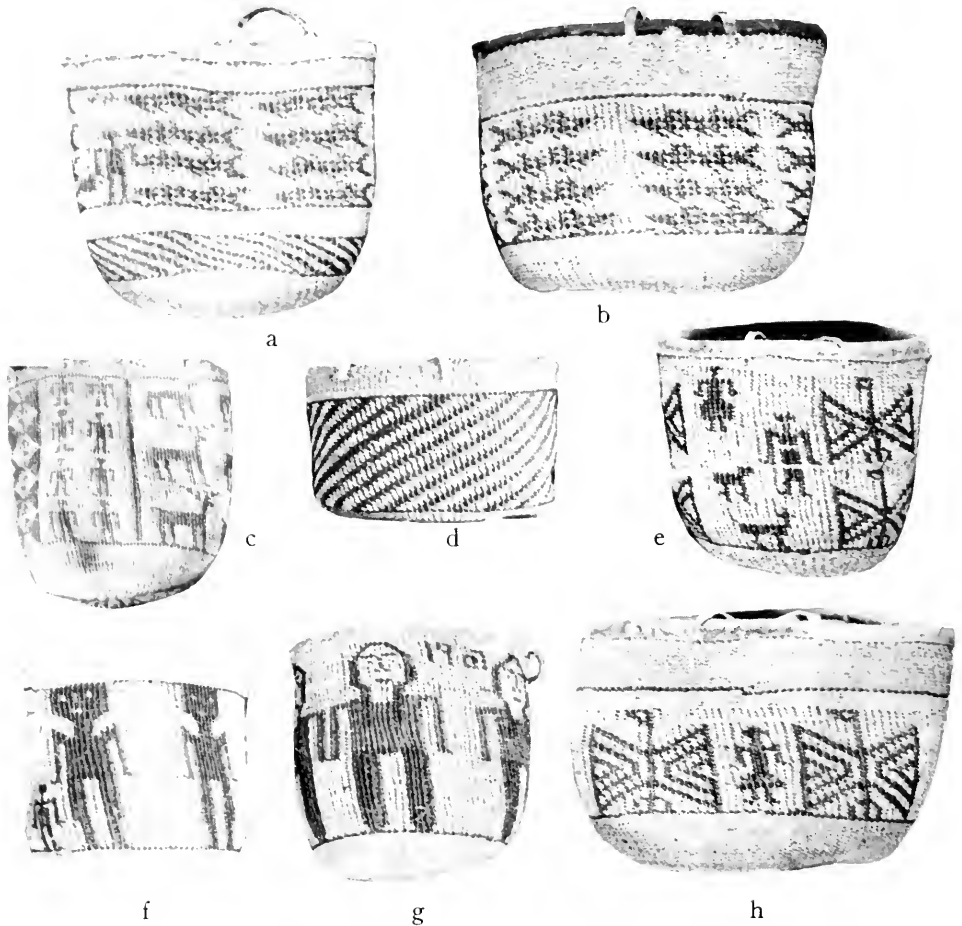


PLATE 2. Wishram twined baskets (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; a, 1-b 2838; b, 9431; c, 1-d 2838; d, 9433; e, 1-c 2838; f, 9432; g, 1-a 2838; h, 9430.)

Description of the plates: Plate 2. (a). Designs in black. Within the band are five vertical lines of fish, four in each. The fish design represents a salmon (itga'gunat). The black line above the man may be a "trade mark." Rim binding and handle of buckskin.

(b). Six vertical lines of fish, four in each. They pair off by having tails and mouths alternately toward each other. While the five vertical lines of fish motifs in specimen a might be considered as an instance of the operation of the Wishram pattern number, five, it is obvious that this alternation was possible only with an even number of verticals. Rim binding of red cloth; handle of buckskin.

(c). The designs are in brown; above and below the brown lines encircling the basket are areas in which the wetting is darker than where it forms the background of the designs. Starting from a vertical line and going to the right there are two vertical bands of elk, three of eagles, a vertical line, one of eagles, and two of people. The rim and handle are of buckskin. The design name is deer (itgate!a'akc.)

(d). Designs in black. The design is hazel-rope (idbi'natx). The lines encircling the basket are incomplete, ending one stitch short and of course, on a round above that on which they begin. The handle is of buckskin. To one side of it black thread is sewn over the rope rim as a "trade-mark" (?), but it is needed to hold the ends of the rope together.

(e). Designs in black. Four vertical lines of two eagles each; the other figures scattered. Design called eagles (itgate!i'nun). Rim and handle of buckskin.

(f). Designs in black, save that a brown band, two stitches deep, is inserted as the third and fourth series of stitches above the legs. Design styled people. Rim and handle of buckskin.

(g). Designs in black except for the arms and trunks which are green; the band is black, and like those in figure f has an extra stitch extending from it. Design called people (itga'drlxam). A black line of three stitches to the left of the human figure at the right may be a "trade-mark"; it is not matched on the other side. Rim binding is buckskin.

(h). Five eagles in black. The human figure in black has a green stripe of three stitches above the legs as a "trade-mark." This design called eagles. Rim and handle of buckskin.

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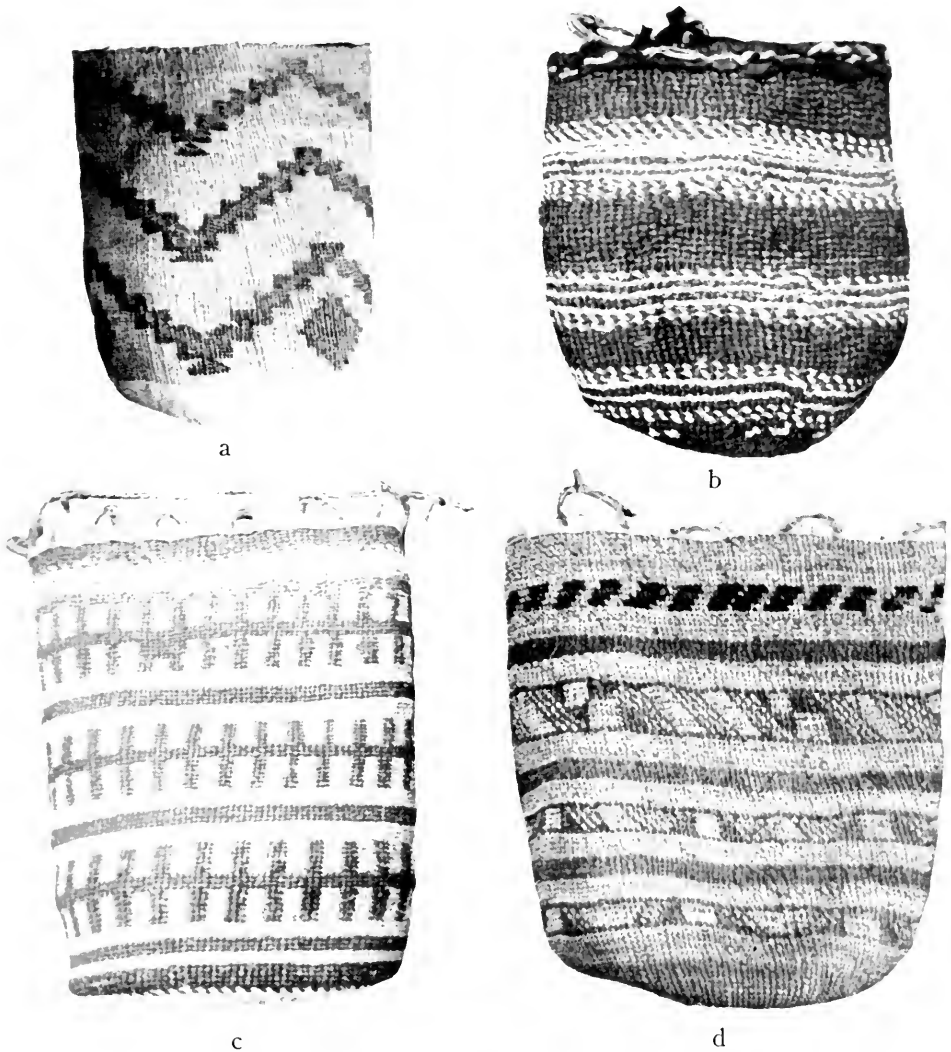


PLATE 3. Wishram and Paiute twined baskets. a, c, d, Wishram; b, Paiute (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, a, 9427; b, 9434; c, 9436; d, 9428).

Plate 3. (a). The stepped elements are in black with the median diagonal lines in red. The lozenge at the lower right has a border of black surrounding a field of red enclosing a central cross in red. This design was called fish gills. The base of the basket is made of cordage; the rim is finished by turning back the warps (in the manner of Klamath baskets?)

(b). This is a Paiute basket brought from Warm Springs Reservation. The design was called eyes by the Wishram. The background is brown, both warp and weft, the decoration in white. A "trade-mark," composed of two dark stitches separated by a white, is in the upper solid white band. The rim is bound with cloth through which a cord is drawn.

(c). The design is human teeth. Decoration is in brown. The wefts of the base and the warps throughout are of commercial cord. The rim is a piece of sacking with rope and loops, through which to thread it, to tie up the basket.

(d). The design is serpent fangs. The upper course of decoration is black yarn (or cloth), the second brown, third black and white, fourth brown, fifth black and white, sixth and seventh are like fourth and fifth respectively. The base is wefted with cordage; the rim is calico (?) with an Indian hemp (?) cord drawn through. A tiny patch (one stitch) of black yarn above the upper band is a "trade-mark" (?)



PLATE 4. Wishram twined baskets (American Museum of Natural History).

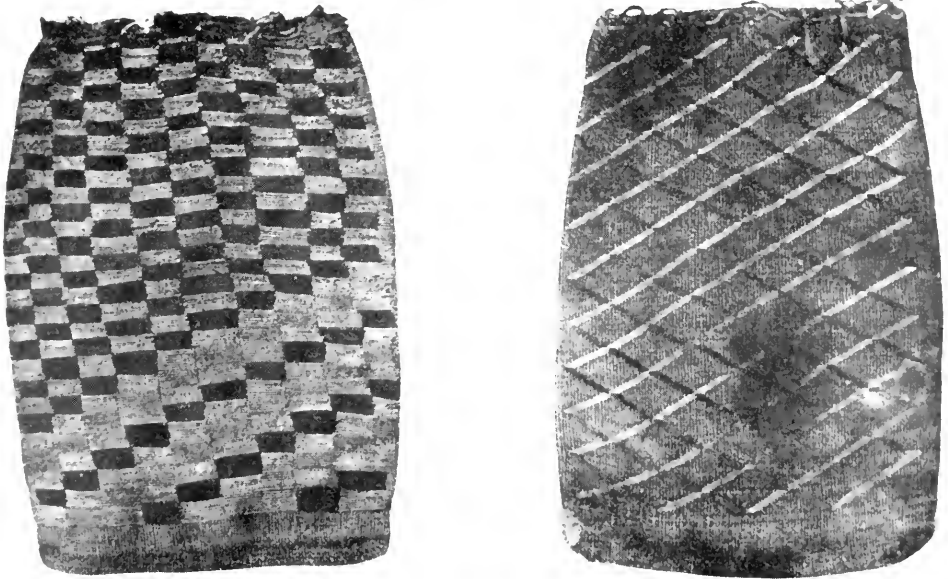


PLATE 5. Wishram twined bags (American Museum of Natural History).

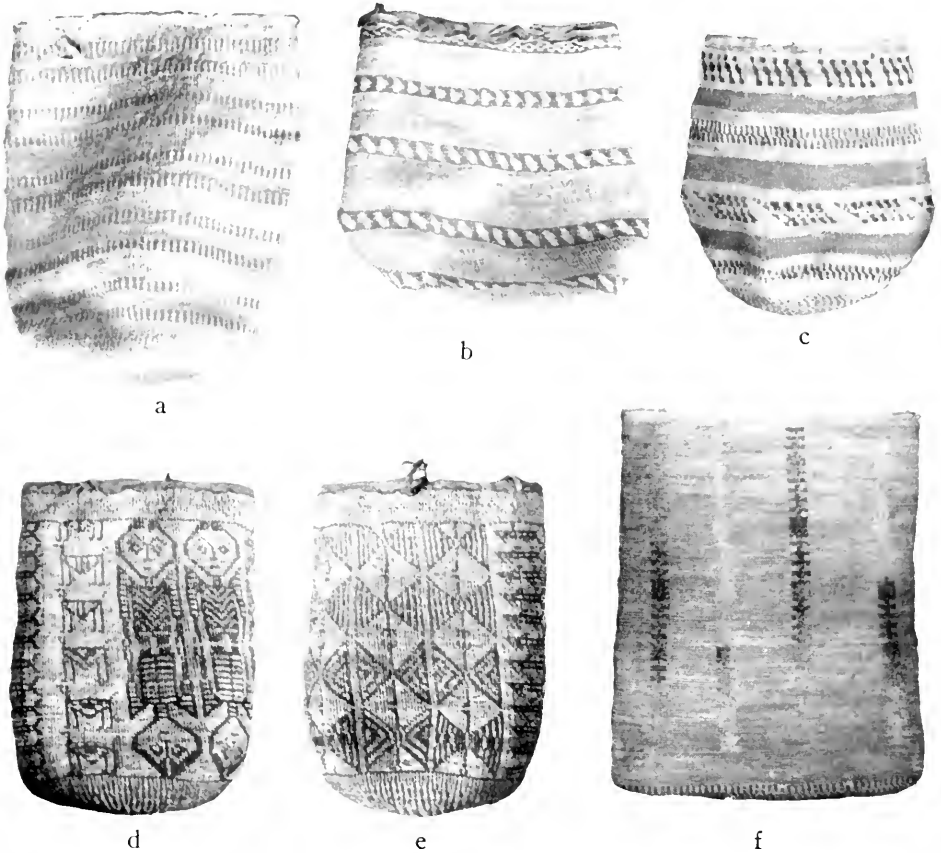


PLATE 6. Wasco twined baskets and bag (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; a, 9155a; b, 1202; c, 9155b; d, e, 8633; f, 2179).

Plate 6. This plate consists solely of specimens from the closely allied Wasco, which are included for comparison. (a). The five bands of decoration consist each of a median band of white bordered by narrow bands in blue from which extend vertical spurs in red. The handle of buckskin is sewn directly into the basket.

(b). This basket is interesting as a case of negative decoration. The white elements seem to form the decorative units but inasmuch as they are of the same material as the body of the basket, it may be that the dark portions, which look like background, really constitute the design. Considering the white parts as designs, we have at the top a series of alternating short lines, each two stitches long; next a series of angular D figures, followed by three bands of oblique lozenges. On the other hand if the dark parts are the design, the upper band remains the same descriptively, the second consists of reversed K figures, the remaining bands of oblique hour-glass figures. This specimen was collected by Curtis, who recorded it as from "Wasco Nez Percés from Washington; made of corn husks."

(c). The upper course of design is of red yarn; the second is dark (black or brown) above, red below, the third red, and the fourth red above and dark below, reversing the color sequence of the second. Dark (brown) and light bands separate the design courses. A "trade-mark," a small red yarn lozenge, lies below the lowest design course. The rim is bound with calico through which a cord is drawn.

(d, e). Obverse and reverse of a basket. The lowest four fishes, two eagles, and two elk or deer, and the lower heads, necks, and shoulders of the human figures are brown; the rest of the designs are black. This suggests that the difference in color is not intentional (as the head of the second deer from the bottom is black) but due to the original stock of brown material giving out. Going to the right there are in sequence two lines of double heads, three of four joined eagles, three of twelve fishes (the first and second arranged with joined tails to form open lozenges, the second and third with mouths adjacent), and one line of deer. The rim is of buckskin. Attention is drawn to the diagonal twine in the upper part of the basket forming a self pattern. The stitching is not regular, however, occasionally crossing only one warp instead of two.

(f). A twined bag from which much of the color of the decoration has been lost. On one side the vertical stripes are in order from right to left, blue and brown, red, blue and brown, red; on the opposite face the same order is repeated from right to left, which means that the stripes opposite each other on the two faces are alternately red and blue-brown.

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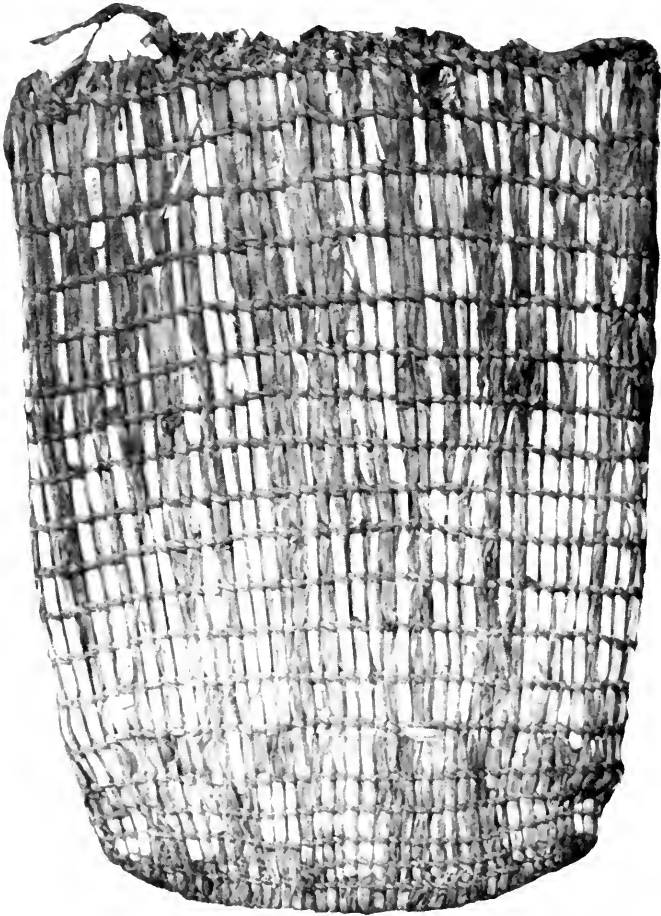


PLATE 7. Wishram bag in coarse open-twine (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, No. 1-2839).

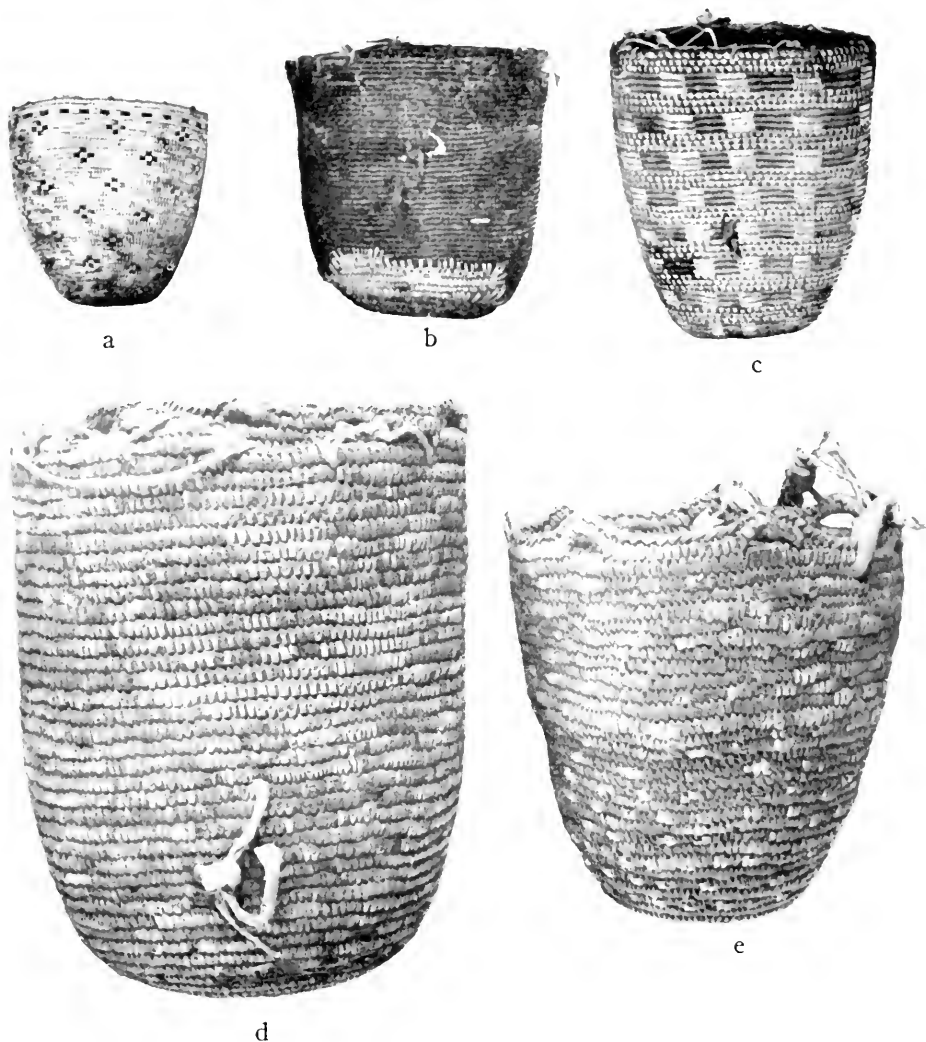


PLATE 8. Wishram coiled baskets (a-c, American Museum of Natural History; d, e, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; d, no. 9435; e, 9429).

Plate 8. (d). White imbricated overlay on dark wrapping. A buckskin loop is inserted through the body of the basket; cordage through holes in the rim.

(e). White imbricated overlay appears sporadically on the dark wrapping, apparently to give a design of random dots. The rim loops are imbricated throughout. Two buckskin loops are provided; one passes through two basketry loops at the rim, the other through this buckskin loop and a third basketry loop

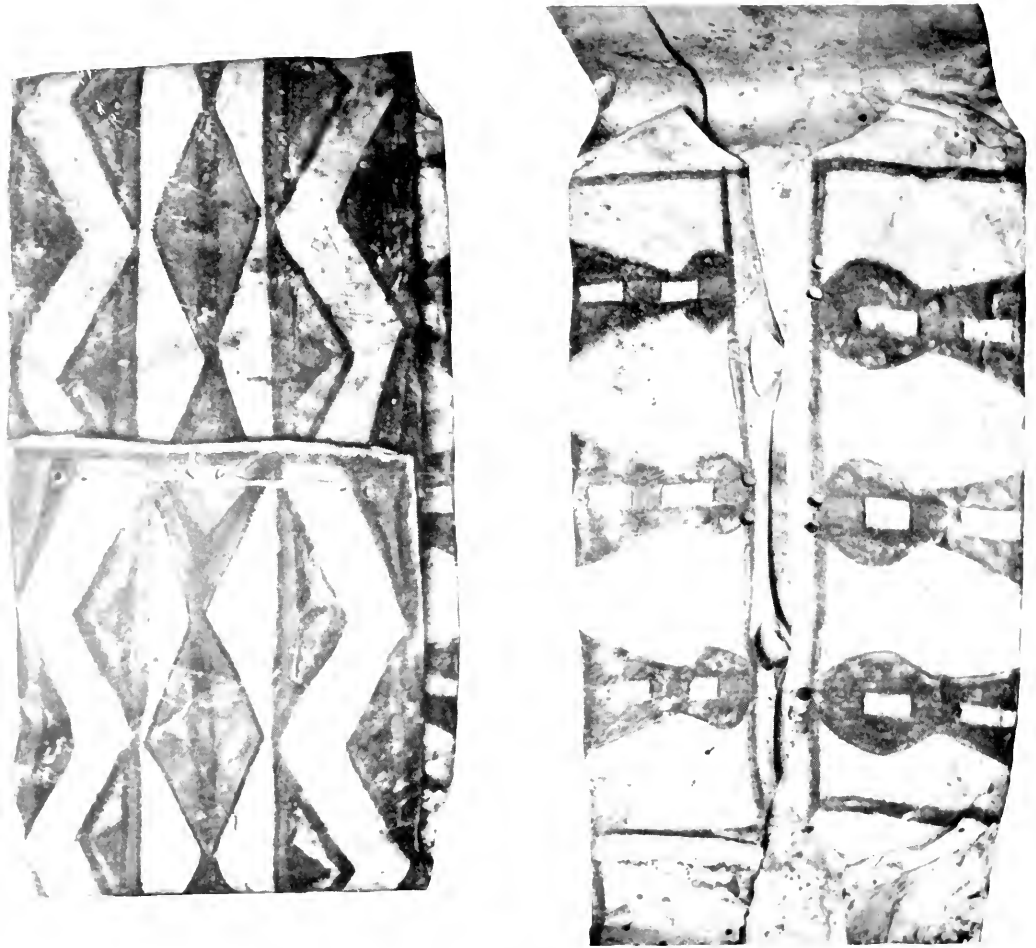


PLATE 9. Parfleche used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture; a, folded, b, open to show the decoration on the side flaps (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, no. 9437).

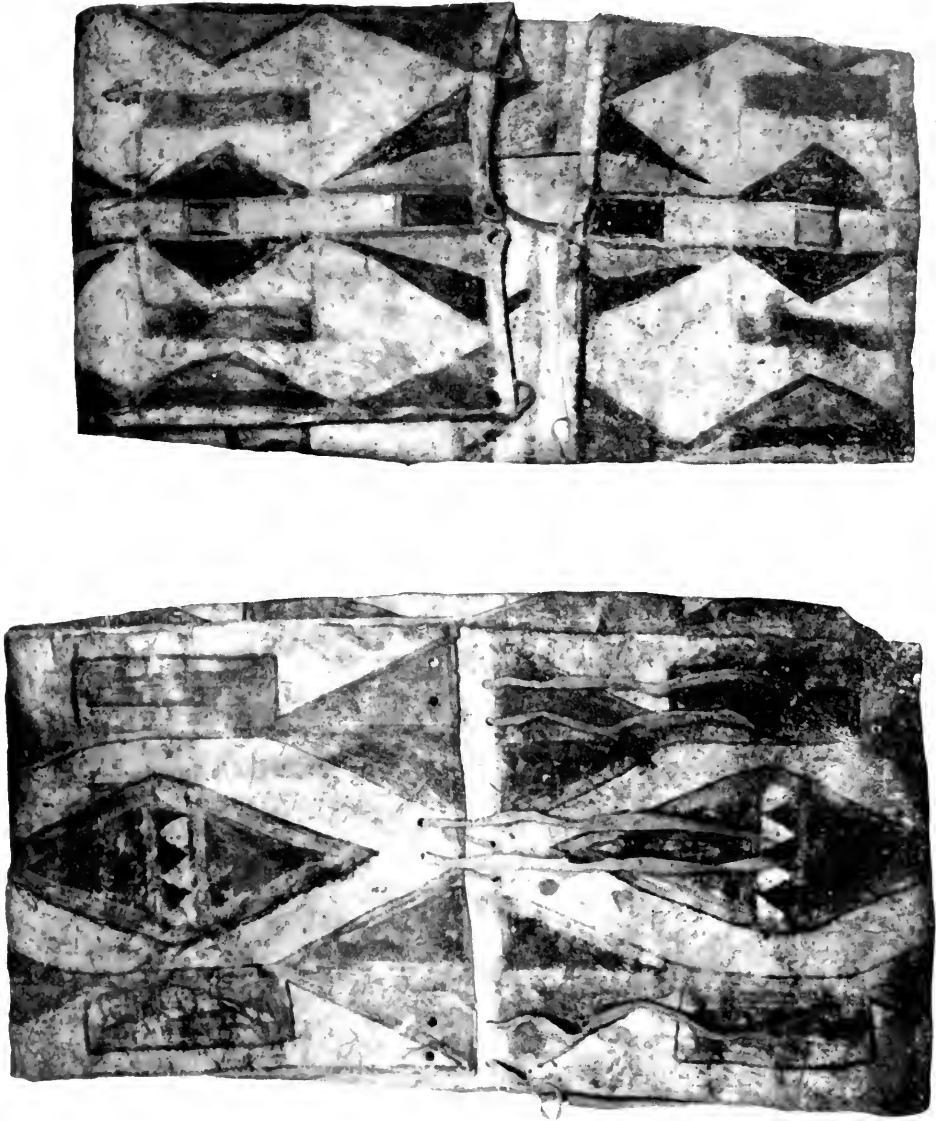


PLATE 10. Parfleches used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; a, no. 9438; b, no. 9439).

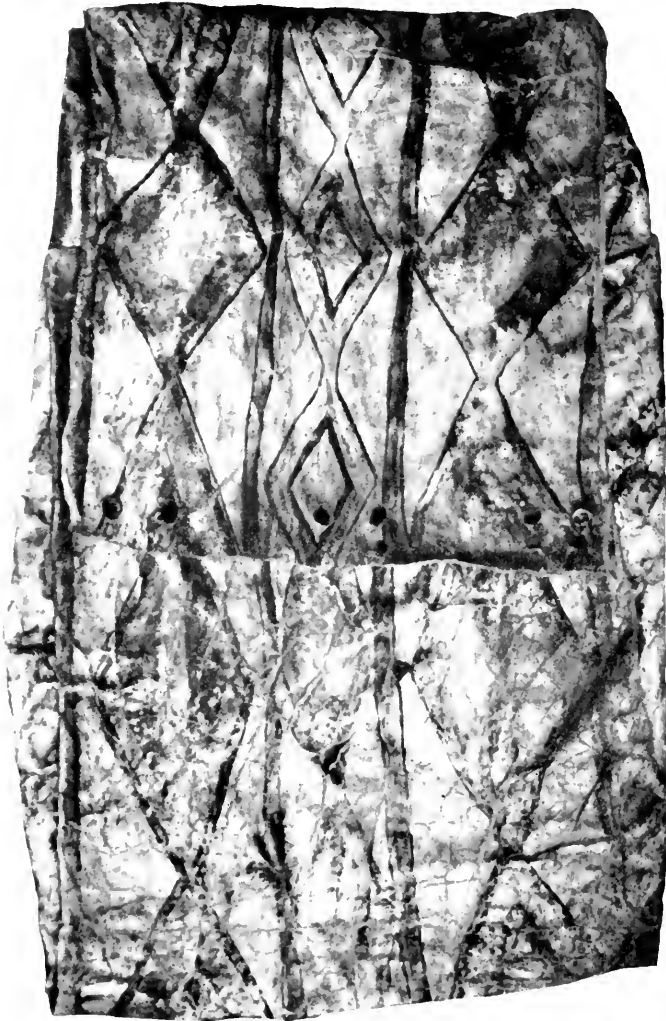


PLATE 11. Parfleche used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, no. 1-2840).

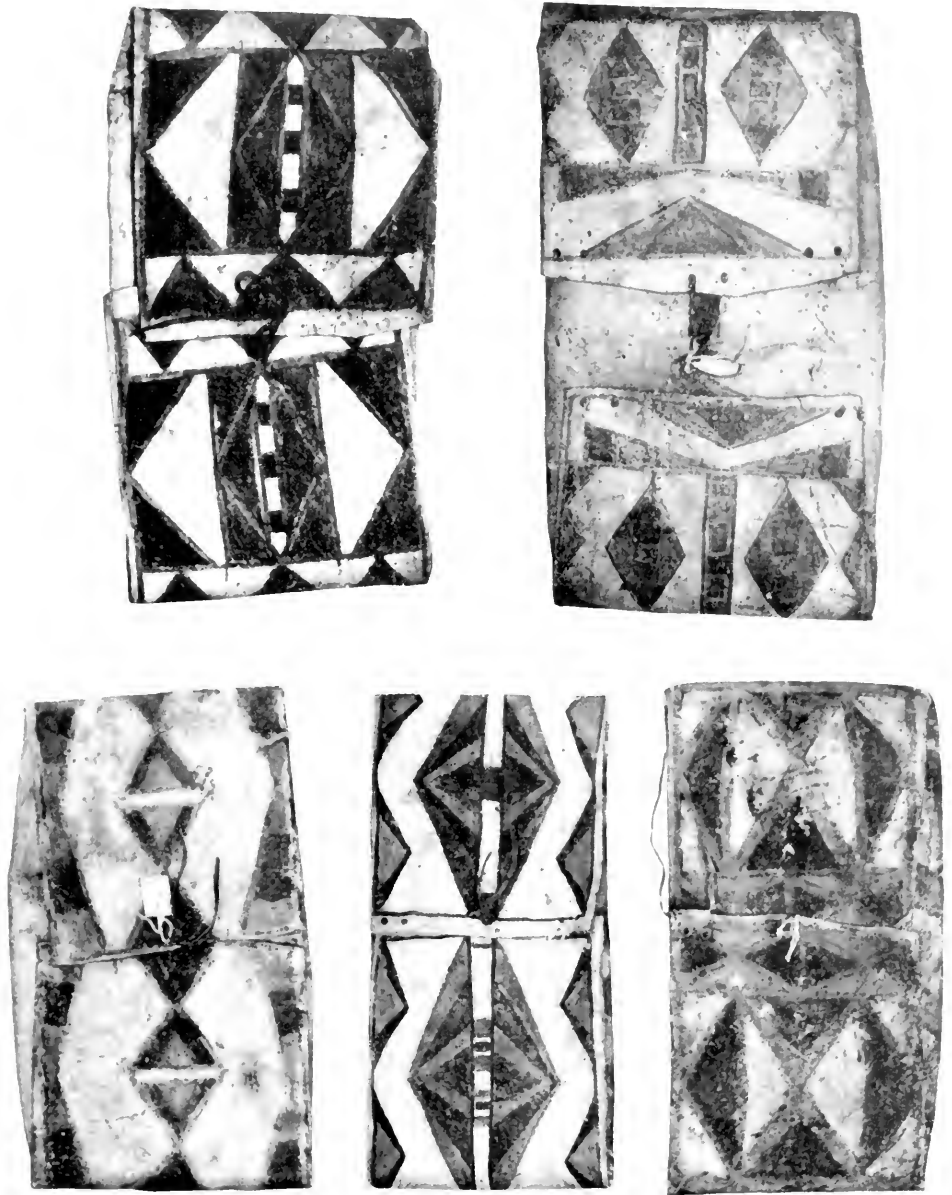


PLATE 12. Parfleches used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture (American Museum of Natural History).

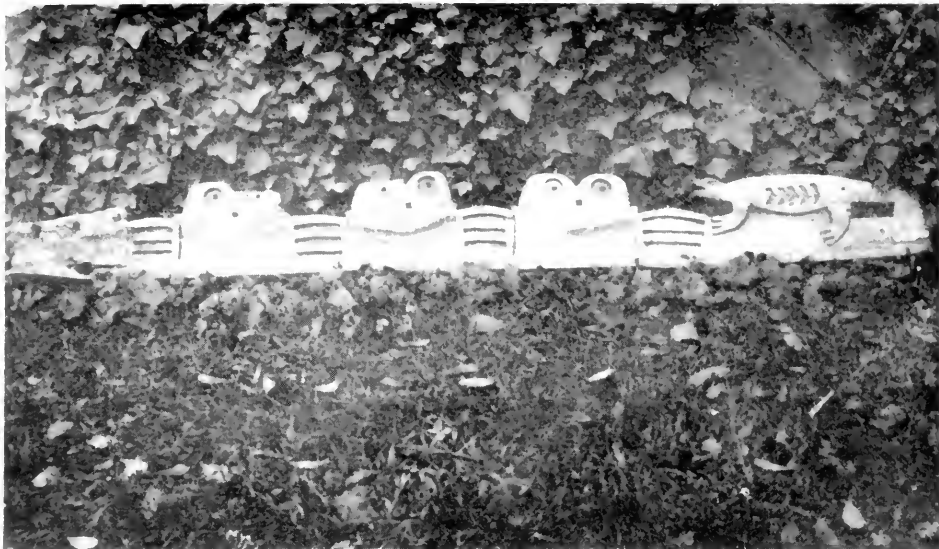


PLATE 13. Carved side-piece of a burial canoe.

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